

Final Report

CIVIC EDUCATION ASSESSMENT – STAGE II

Civic Education Programming Since 1990 – A Case Study Based Analysis

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I. INTRODUCTION

Civic education programs seek to transmit knowledge, skills, and values to individuals and to promote political efficacy and participation by them. Put another way, they attempt to transfer the tools necessary for participation in a democratic polity, and to induce individuals to engage in civic acts. How successful are such programs in achieving their goals? What makes one program more effective than another? This study is part of a larger USAID effort to assess the impact of USAID civic education programming, develop methodologies for evaluation of civic education programs, and to provide information about the types and scopes of civic education activities. This paper

responds to the third task and is based on a review of available project related documents, assessments and studies of USAID and other donor civic education programs, and interviews with civic education practitioners and USAID staff. It starts with a brief review of USAID's involvement in civic education programming. Next, the paper offers a framework for analyzing and classifying civic education programming. It then presents a summary of what USAID has learned about the impact of civic education programming, and suggests guidelines for future programming. The last section of the paper comprises ten case studies that have been selected for the variety of approaches employed, the range of results achieved, and the geographic distribution of programs.

II. BACKGROUND TO USAID INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIC EDUCATION

During the 1980s and early 1990s, there was an astonishing series of major political transitions in Africa, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and Latin America. Africa's richest country dismantled the apartheid regime that had governed the country for 40 years. This stunning event was accompanied by a democratizing wave throughout Africa, which brought the downfall of many one-party, strongman regimes in exchange for multi-party, elected democracies (even if the latter lasted only briefly). In Latin America, military regimes which had emerged in the 1970s gave way or were pushed out, in many cases by citizen-led movements. In perhaps the most significant transition of all, the Soviet Union collapsed, discrediting the Communist system of government and leaving Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia all facing the daunting task of rebuilding both their economic and their political systems simultaneously. The complete disintegration of the communist system left democracy as the reigning political ideology of the time. Despite the initial international groundswell of support for democratic institutions and processes, the majority of the inhabitants of these countries in transition had little knowledge of the workings of democracy and no practical experience.

USAID's investment in the field of democracy assistance multiplied during this tumultuous time. Fiscal year 1990 marked the first time that USAID provided assistance under the heading of "political development."¹ By the end of 1994 USAID had established four sub-areas (Agency objectives) under the rubric of "Sustainable democracies built":

1. Strengthened rule of law and respect for human rights
2. More genuine and competitive political processes
3. Increased development of politically active civil society
4. More transparent and accountable government institutions.

USAID viewed a strong civil society as a mechanism for ensuring government accountability and increasing citizen participation. In this view, civil society encompassed "non-state organizations that can (or have the potential to) champion democratic/governance reforms" and was the key to building demand for democratic government at all levels.² While USAID had made grants to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for many years, the idea of supporting NGOs as a means of strengthening civil society now gained widespread acceptance. In addition to using NGOs for a variety of advocacy and mobilization functions, USAID identified them as a primary means of transmitting democratic knowledge, skills, and values in new democracies.³ This strategy called upon NGOs to teach the citizens of the new democracies their rights and responsibilities, and, to forge a common understanding of how their government could and should function.

During the early years of democracy assistance, many USAID Missions used democracy and governance (DG) funds to take advantage of opportunities presented by changing political environments. Given the newness of the field and the fluid circumstances in which they were operating, Missions often chose to fund programs that were presented by well known partners, or that seemed to respond to an immediate need, e.g. preparation for elections.

¹Sadowski *et al*, p. 2

² Gary Hansen, p. 3

³ The exception to this rule is in-school civic education, primarily aimed at children and young people. Because schools and universities are controlled by the state in most countries, this type of civic education necessarily involves government institutions.

Civic education was often bundled in with a larger program of democracy assistance such as civil society strengthening or local government reform. As USAID became more sophisticated in its DG programming, its approach to civic education shifted. This shift also responded to developments in the field, where many of the new democracies were struggling to consolidate the changes that they had instituted. As it was expressed in a USAID evaluation of the early years of the Women in Politics program: “Exposure [to new ideas/concepts/methods] has

been a very useful step and been catalyst [sic] in the early days of transition to democracy or democracy programs. Yet, increasingly programs will need to move towards competence.”⁴ In addition to paying for the provision of democracy education, often by foreign organizations, USAID began to place more emphasis on increasing local capacity to provide civic education independently, and on ensuring the sustainability of the programs that had been initiated, as well as on tailoring the message for a better fit with local conditions.

⁴ Reynolds and Hirschmann, p. 31

Table 1: Case Study Matrix with program variables*

Program Name and Description	Location	Problem Addressed	Goals/Objectives	Program Content	Methodology	Target Audience
Orava --Reform of Slovakia's educational system to promote democratic values	Slovakia	Weakness of democratic culture	Change in knowledge/values (mobilization is not aimed at political participation)	Educational Reform and Democratic Values	lectures, discussion groups, exercises/games, forums, training of intermediaries, community organizing, and materials distribution	two audiences: teachers, faculty at pedagogical institutions, school administrators and others receiving training; and, beneficiaries of training, i.e. students and parents
Step by Step --Teaching democratic values and promoting educational reform throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States	Central and Eastern Europe, the Newly Independent States	Weakness of democratic culture	Change in knowledge/values (mobilization is not aimed at political participation)	Educational Reform and Democratic Values	lectures, discussion groups, exercises/games, forums, training of intermediaries, community organizing, and materials distribution	two audiences: teachers, faculty at pedagogical institutions, school administrators and others receiving training; and, beneficiaries of training, i.e. students and parents
Human Rights School --Teaching elites about human rights and the rule of law	Poland	Weakness of democratic culture	Change in knowledge/values (mobilization is not aimed at political participation)	Human Rights Education	Lectures and seminars	Students are university graduates in variety of professions
Civic Forum --Fostering democracy in the West Bank and Gaza through a network of discussion groups	West Bank/Gaza, Bosnia	Weakness of democratic culture and underdeveloped civil society	Initially more emphasis on change in knowledge/values; subsequently increasing emphasis on motivation/mobilization	General Civic Knowledge	Discussion groups, forums, role-play, exercises/games, training of intermediaries, community organizing, and materials distribution	Individual Palestinians and Palestinian NGOs and community organizations
Vocea Civica/CENTRAS --Civic education to solidify democracy in Romania	Romania	Weakness of democratic culture and underdeveloped civil society	Initially more emphasis on change in knowledge/values; subsequently increasing emphasis on motivation/mobilization	General Civic Knowledge and Civil Society Creation and Mobilization	discussion groups, forums, training of intermediaries, community organizing, materials distribution and mass media	Initially potential civic leaders and NGOs; subsequently more focus on NGOs
IPEDH --Human rights education to combat violence and abuses	Peru	Unequal access to justice and widespread human rights violations	Both change in knowledge/values and motivation/mobilization	Issue-based or Rights Knowledge and Civil Society Creation and Mobilization	discussion groups, role-plays, games/exercises, training of intermediaries, community organizing, materials distribution	Primary target is community leaders participating in training. Secondary target is local counterpart organizations
Street Law --Law, human rights, and democracy education in a changing South Africa	South Africa	Political and social marginalization of certain groups	Both change in knowledge/values and motivation/mobilization	General civic knowledge and issue-based or rights education	lectures, discussion groups, forums, simulations, role-plays, games/exercises, training of intermediaries, community organizing, materials distribution, and mass media	Primary audience is high school students. Secondary audience is cadre of trainers.
Vkloochis --Engaging young people in the political process	Russia	Weakness of democratic culture and voter apathy	Motivation and mobilization	Voter education	discussion groups, forums, simulations, training of intermediaries, community organizing, special events/festivals, materials distribution, and mass media	Primary audience is young voters
Inter-American Democracy Network --A North-South network of NGOs building capacity for civic education within the LAC region	Latin America and the Caribbean	Underdeveloped civil society	Motivation and mobilization	Civil society Creation and Mobilization	discussion groups/forum, training of intermediaries, community organizing, materials distribution, and mass media	Primary audience is the NGOs that are members of the Network. Secondary target is the individuals being trained by the NGOs.

* The LIFE example is not included in this matrix as it is not a democracy and governance program and therefore is not subject to the same level of analysis.

III. KEY VARIABLES IN CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS

USAID Civic education programs operate on many different levels: as elements within a USAID Mission's democracy and governance strategy; as training programs for educators, community activists, and NGO staff; as partnerships between USAID and NGO implementers; and, as political development programs in particular historical contexts. Civic education programs range tremendously in content, duration, scale, and longevity. In comparing civic education program options, there are several key variables. These variables are interrelated in complicated and overlapping patterns. Table 1 presents a matrix for analyzing each of the nine democracy and governance case studies according to the key variables. Summaries of the variables and the relationships follow:

1. **Problem addressed:** Civic education activities are part of the DG portfolio of USAID Missions. They are used to address key democracy problems identified by USAID, such as fundamental weakness of democratic culture, unequal access to justice, political and social marginalization of certain groups, low levels of citizen participation in policy making processes, support for legal reform, weak local governments, and lack of knowledge and/or voter apathy preceding an election. Defining the problem to be addressed will set the parameters for program content, and will influence the goals and objectives and target audience; however it will not determine which methodology will be used, nor does it necessarily determine the level of resources or the duration of the program.
2. **Goals/Objectives:** Civic education programs seek to impart knowledge, skills, and values. They also promote political efficacy and participation. Programs may promote political participation, such as voting or advocacy, or they may promote civic participation, such as forming social service organizations. Those programs that

focus on transfer of knowledge and values often place less emphasis on political participation. In contrast, programs that emphasize political efficacy will tend to promote political participation in the short-term. A program's goals and objectives will be closely linked to the audience it hopes to influence, and will depend on the content of the program's activities.

3. **Program content:** Sabatini *et al* point to several specific areas of content that are commonly dealt with in civic education programs:⁵
 - Formal civics education—in classroom training focused on general principles. For the purposes of this paper, this content area has been renamed “democratic education reform”; this name reflects the dual emphasis (both educational reform and promotion of democratic values and behaviors) of the two in-school programs reviewed for this paper.
 - General civic knowledge—out of school training intended to transfer basic knowledge, skills, and values
 - Issue-based or rights knowledge—training/education on specific political issues or rights questions
 - Voter education—education on the whys and hows of voting, generally with an emphasis on the importance of participation and respect for democratic process
 - Civil Society creation/mobilization—education on the skills and knowledge needed to generate citizen participation through civil society organizations; contains a strong element of support for civil society

⁵ Sabatini *et al*, pp. 9-10

- Community/Group Problem Solving—education concerning the skills and knowledge needed to address particular issues or problems, often focused on gaining government attention.

As noted, program content will depend on what democracy problem is being addressed and will in turn determine the choice of target audience and the program's objectives.

4. **Methodology:** Civic education programs use a number of different methods including: lectures, discussion groups, forums/panels, dramatizations, role-plays, training of intermediaries, community organizing, materials distribution, and mass media.⁶ Use of a particular methodology does not rule out use of others, nor is any one methodology most associated with a particular democracy problem, civic education goal/objective, or program content area. In contrast, some methodologies appear to be more effective than others; as noted, participatory methods seem to be more effective at increasing participation than methods which are non-interactive or passive. In addition, the choice of methodology needs to be sensitive to the characteristics of the target audience. Most civic education programs combine a variety of methodologies.
5. **Target audience:** Civic education programs may be targeted to geographic regions, to gender, to ethnic categories, and to social/economic groups. They may also be broad-based (e.g. sessions are open to all inhabitants of a certain region) or limited (e.g. only poor women are invited to attend). The selection of the target audience is dependent on the program content and is closely related to the objectives of the program.

Two other aspects of civic education programming that are important from an

operational standpoint are the duration of the program and the resources required. There is significant variation in the length of time a program may span, from one-off events to cyclical or periodic sessions that may continue for more than a year. Similarly there are vast differences in the funding amounts that may be available for civic education activities. While these are not conceptually important considerations, in practice they may be more influential in driving programming options than the other variables described here.

Figure 1 attempts to capture the relationships between the variables and to represent the sequence in which they are determined. In sum, identification of the democracy problem is the first step. Once the democracy problem has been identified, it sets the parameters for the next stage, which consists of establishing the content of the program. Once the program content is determined, the goals and objectives and the target audiences may be set. The latter two variables are interdependent. They then control the choice of methodologies. Duration and resources influence all the other decisions, but they are not part of the analytical development of a civic education program, therefore they are represented as separate from the other variables.

There are clear trade-offs between program duration and resources expended; longer programs require more resources. Other, less obvious trade-offs are equally important. A 1998 evaluation of the USAID Women in Politics program describes trade-offs along class, space, and issue-focus dimensions.⁷ For example, programs that aim to place more women in elected positions will most likely be more interesting to middle class or elite women in urban settings, who have the capacity and the resources to undertake political campaigns. In contrast, programs dealing with violence against women may cut across class and spatial divisions, but may have more diffuse goals. Designing civic education programming requires similar calculations. For example, the Orava project's decision to work at many different

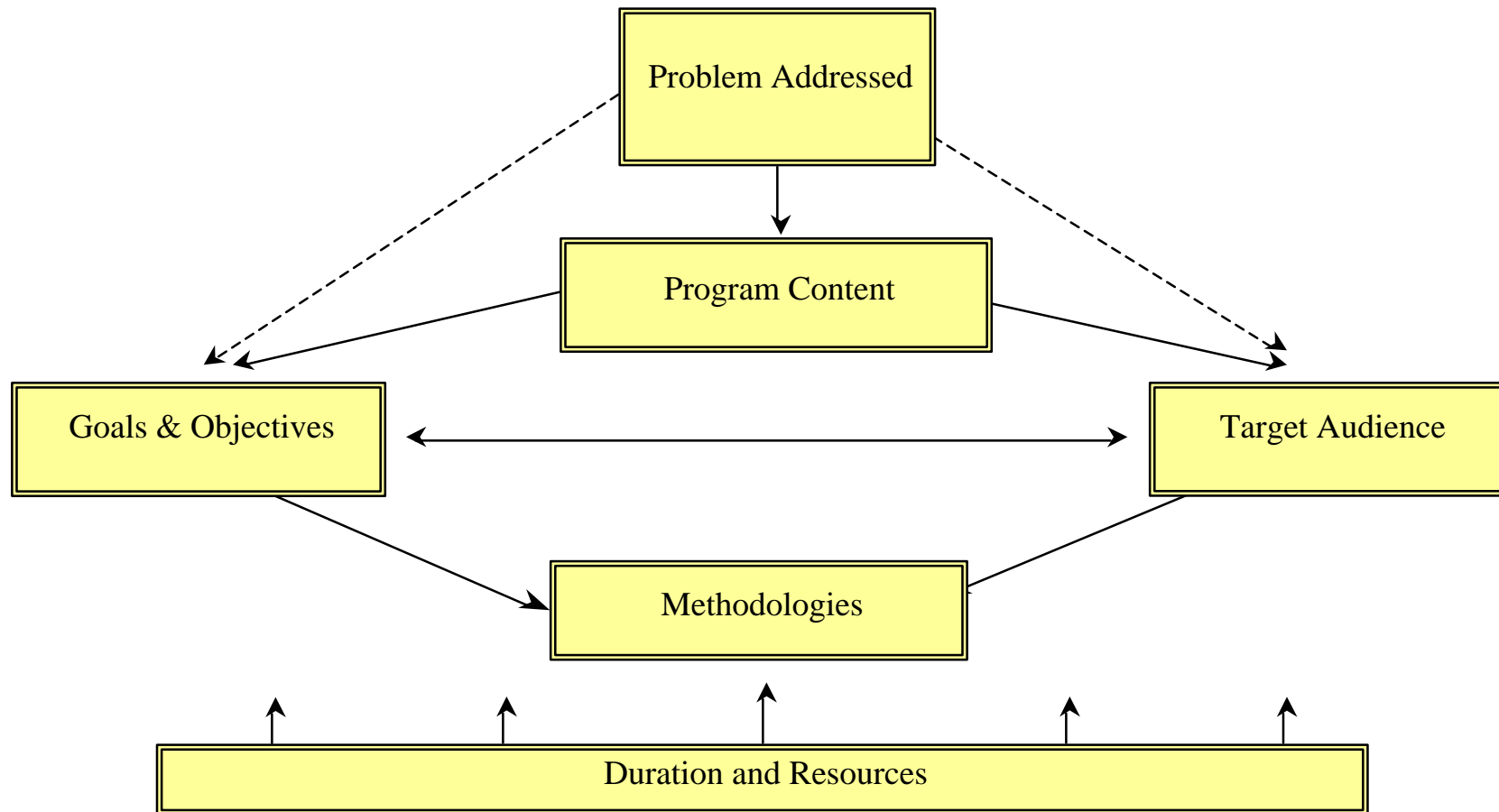
⁶ *ibid*, pp. 10-11

⁷ Bevis *et al*, pp. 33-38

levels within the Slovak educational system allowed it to pursue many different goals at once (e.g. train teachers, influence pedagogical institutions, influence the Ministry of Education certification process) but limited the intensity with which it pursued any one of these goals. In addition, the decision to work with teachers and schoolchildren led to a program that would have long term, rather than short term effects on democratic process in Slovakia. Decisions about

these and other program variables should be extremely sensitive to the context and the timing of program, and should also be subject to periodic review. In the fluid environment in which most civic education programs take place, USAID should anticipate that elements of a program design would need to be altered, that target populations might change, and that objectives might shift.

Figure 1: Civic Education: Relationship of Key Program Variables



IV. FRAMEWORK FOR CLASSIFYING CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Given these crosscutting variables, there are several ways one could group civic education programs. Any classification of civic education programs faces the difficulty of applying conceptual categories to programs with unclear boundaries and goals that shift over time. Reviewing USAID civic education efforts over the past decade offers some guidelines. In general, USAID civic education programs have been justified in terms of the need to establish a stronger foundation for democracy by imparting the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for informed participation by the citizenry. Under this umbrella, it is possible to create two conceptual divisions: broad based civic education and more targeted programming. These two categories are proposed to provide a framework for analysis of civic education programs, with the caveat that, in practice, these distinctions become blurred, and many programs fall somewhere between the two groups.

Broad based civic education stays close to the fundamental goal for civic education as defined above. It works toward development of citizen participation in the longer term and defines its goals in terms of the transfer of knowledge and values. Targeted civic education has a narrower focus; it seeks to address specific aspects of democracy and democratic behavior. It also tends to emphasize motivation and mobilization. These two groupings also loosely correlate with the program content areas outlined above. In terms of setting these categories in the trajectory of increasing democratization, there is some correspondence between the first category and the late-transition, early consolidation phase of democratization.⁸ Programs in the second category may be more broadly spread, and may even take place pre-transition. These categories are discussed in greater detail below.

⁸ See Hansen, pp. x-xi for discussion of the phases of democratization.

It is important to note that for the most part, these categories do not neatly track with themes under the democracy problem variable. It is difficult to establish correlations for this variable, as any given democracy problem may be addressed by a wide variety of civic education programs. For example, if the problem is access to justice, the answer may be broad based legal education to teach people what their rights are and what the rights of their fellow citizens are, or it may be small workshops targeted to certain groups that have traditionally been denied the benefits of the law, or it may be panels on democratic values and processes for local government officials.

Broad-based civic education programs that aim to build a stronger foundation for democracy

In general, the emphasis here is on knowledge and values change, and the horizon is longer term. These are programs that aim to develop a “culture of democracy” and that have an all-encompassing vision of their work. Referring to program content areas, this category would include formal civics education and general civic knowledge. It might also include issue-based or rights education, depending on whether the activities were aimed at the general public or were intended to mobilize a particular group or constituency.

An example of this kind of civic education programming is in school civic education, such as that practiced by the Step-by-Step program in the former Soviet Union or the Orava program in Slovakia. These programs target children, parents, and educators in an effort to shape the environment surrounding children and to influence the values these children develop as they mature. These programs take a holistic approach. They work with teachers and administrators to change the process and the orientation of the classroom. They seek to give teachers more control within the education bureaucracy, and they seek to engage parents in their children’s classrooms. Thus these programs penetrate the lives of the children and the teachers to a greater degree than most civic education programs. The Street Law program

also fits in this category, although the evolution of the program and the different elements it comprised make it more difficult to classify.

Figure 2. Broad Based Civic Education

- **Seeks to create democratic citizens**
- **Emphasizes knowledge and values change**
- **Is more typical of democratic educational reform, general civic knowledge, and some issue-based programs**
- **Is characteristic of programs aimed at children and students**
- **May be found in adult civic education programs that take place in close proximity to a major transformation, when adults are eager for information about new systems and processes**
- **Is typified by the Step by Step and Orava programs, and the early phases of the Civic Forum and Vocea Civica programs.**

Few adult civic education programs come close to the level of intensity of the Step by Step and Orava programs. The recent study of USAID civic education program conducted by Sabatini *et al* suggests that it is difficult for civic education programs to have a significant and lasting impact on the values of the participants, although the results are more mixed for civic competence⁹. The Sabatini study noted that the Helsinki Human Rights School did appear to have an influence on the values of the participants; it is also the most intense of the adult programs and has the most educated target audience. Although the Human Rights School has some of the characteristics of a targeted

civic education program, it is placed in this category because its primary emphasis is on knowledge and values change.

Because of the difficulty of influencing values, particularly in adults, most adult civic education programs seek to produce participation results within the timeframe of the project or activity. This choice is also influenced by the fact that funders look for results, and participation results are easier to quantify than are changes in values. Another factor that may play a role is that few adults have the time or the ability to study theoretical principles and frameworks that do not relate directly to their lives. Of the projects reviewed for this paper, two started with a more conceptual, values and competence-based program and ended with a more operational, participation-based program, i.e. Civic Forum and Vocea Civica. In both cases the projects started in close proximity to a breakthrough election: in the Civic Forum case the first phase of the program preceded the first national elections in the West Bank and Gaza, and in the Vocea Civica case it followed the first democratic elections by less than a year. It may be that there is a very brief window connected to a transforming event, such as an election, during which adults actively seek information about new institutions and processes of government. This may be an optimal time for offering adults a more conceptual approach that emphasizes values and competence.

Targeted civic education in pursuit of narrower objectives

This category covers activities that are more oriented towards political participation and that generally have a shorter horizon. In terms of program content, activities such as issue-based or rights education, voter education, and community problem solving belong in this grouping.

The most straightforward example of this kind of programming is voter education. Voter education centers on mobilizing people to vote. It has a well-defined goal and provides an immediate channel for political participation. In its most basic form—providing information on

⁹ Sabatini *et al*, pp 1-3

the mechanics of an election to enable voters to vote—it could even take place before any significant political opening occurs. Authoritarian regimes do hold elections, although they are not democratic elections. This paper considers these pure voter education programs to be outside its purview. In order to fall under the heading of civic education programs, voter education must incorporate information on why voting is important and what role elections play in a democratic form of government. This information may be used to educate the citizens of a government in transition to democracy, it may be used to reach groups of new voters, and it may be used to combat widespread voter apathy. The Vkloochis project addressed all these issues. It was designed to appeal to young people reaching voting age, to combat apathy among these young people, and to shore up Russia's fragile democracy by engaging young people in democratic political processes. Although it is impossible to prove that Vkloochis was responsible for voter turnout, it was credited with contributing to high levels of youth participation. As Vkloochis demonstrates, voter education is one form of civic education where there is a natural partnership between government and civil society, since it is the responsibility of a democratic government to ensure that voters know how to vote and that they vote in sufficient numbers for the election to be valid.

Many civic education activities that fall under the heading of targeted programs seek to promote participation as well as to inculcate knowledge and values to some extent. As discussed in reference to Civic Forum and Vocea Civica, some programs start with a more conceptual orientation (values and civic competence) and shift towards a more practical orientation (participation). Other programs, such as IPEDEHP, maintain a more consistent balance between the two ends of the spectrum. As a human rights program, IPEDEHP strives to give people whose rights have been abused the ability to defend themselves. The program emphasizes the importance of the emotional state of the participants and the value of strengthening their sense of self worth and self-

confidence. At the same time, the program requires individuals to commit to undertake follow-up activities in their communities before they are eligible to participate. Interviews with a select group of graduates showed that for some participants this combination was very successful.¹⁰ These individuals both felt more capable of and more interested in acting in the civic arena, and they undertook concrete actions, such as establishing local human rights committees.

Figure 3. Targeted Civic Education

- **Seeks to create democratic behaviors relating to specific issues**
- **Emphasizes motivation and mobilization; is more practical in orientation**
- **Is more typical of voter education, civil society creation/mobilization, and community/group problem solving programs**
- **Is more common among adult civic education programs**
- **May extend to cover programs that are not framed as democracy and governance activities but that have civic education results**
- **Is typified by Vkloochis and IADN, and the later phases of the Civic Forum and Vocea Civica programs.**

¹⁰ See Bernbaum. This study involved interviews with several community leaders who had gone through IPEDEHP training. The group interviewed included only those individuals who had taken

There is another set of activities that might be considered under this heading. These are programs, which are either intentionally or unintentionally cross sectoral; for example, that involve both economic development and democratic development. These programs generally fall outside the domain that is currently defined for democracy and governance programming. They are designed to solve other types of problems relating to the environment, health, or economic development. In order to achieve results in these domains, these projects use civic education techniques. They frequently produce civic education results: individuals or groups of individuals who are better equipped to engage in the political process. This paper includes a brief case study from a natural resource management (NRM) project with civic education results, the LIFE project in Namibia. In another case, an environmental organization in Indonesia, WALHI, moved from organizing and training individuals about their rights with regard to natural resources to more explicitly political training. It is noteworthy that this shift straddled the period during which the Suharto regime collapsed. In other pre-transition contexts (e.g. Nigeria in the mid-1990s) USAID has similarly attempted to camouflage its efforts to lay the foundation for democratic change by working in areas that are not threatening to the existing government.

Information about the democracy impacts these activities have had is limited. Nonetheless, an indirect, cross-sectoral approach to civic education may be valuable in pre-transition settings where direct civic education is not possible. Another element that makes these programs interesting from a civic education perspective is that they provide channels for participation on issues that are high priority to the individuals involved. This approach is consistent with research done by Sabatini *et al* showing that increased levels of participation following civic education programs are strongly related to the programs' ability to offer opportunities for participation on topics that are relevant to people's daily lives.

A last sub-heading under this category of targeted programs might be: programs that build capacity for provision of civic education. Most civic education projects attempt to build indigenous capacity to some extent, usually by training civic education trainers. For some programs increasing civil society's capacity to provide civic education is the primary goal. One such program is the Inter-American Democracy Network, profiled in the case studies. In practice, such programs may be very similar to broader NGO strengthening projects, the difference being that they focus on NGOs engaged in civic education.

undertaken "civic" actions after completing the training.

V. CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM RESULTS

Civic education is one of many tactics that USAID uses to promote democratic change. As USAID's democracy program has matured, the Agency has tried to gauge the impact of the different tactics it uses to determine funding priorities. Most assessments of USAID civic education programs have either reported on program outputs, e.g. numbers of participants, or provided anecdotal information about the program's impact on individuals and communities. Such information is not easily generalized, nor does it offer much guidance for future programming. In order to provide better answers to questions about the impact of civic education funding, USAID is currently undertaking a major study involving quantitative research on the impact of civic education programs on political participation and democratic attitudes. The first phase of the study took place in Poland and the Dominican Republic and examined two school-based programs and four adult, informal programs in each country. The results have been issued in the report previously referenced as Sabatini *et al.*

The analysis of the school-based programs reported that the civic education programs had limited and varied impacts on participation, knowledge, and values.¹¹ The researchers pointed to two possible explanations. First, the implementation of the programs differed a great deal in both countries with the result that difference between the control schools and the treatment schools in civics courses content and teaching methods were not consistently large. Secondly, factors other than civic education proved to be better predictors of differences between students in civic competence, values and behavior. The researchers noted that family and school environment were especially significant influences. They concluded that in-school civic education programs would be most effective if they involved the whole school environment, if they engaged parents, and if they

offered activities such as student government or student clubs. The study also pointed to the difficulty of implementing broad-based curriculum reform and to the trade-offs between the number of teachers trained and the depth of the training.

The adult data produced clearer patterns relating to the efficacy of the programs. The study reported the following findings:¹²

- The programs demonstrated the greatest impact on the level of participation
- Increased levels of participation were strongly related to channels of and opportunities for participation
- The effects on participation appeared to fade over time
- Increased participation did not appear to lead to increased civic competence or stronger democratic values
- The effects of civic education on civic competence were mixed
- The immediate impact of civic education on democratic values was inconsistent and generally small.
- In some cases, civic education programs had different effects on men and women, with women gaining less overall.

Based on these findings, Sabatini *et al* recommended that adult civic education programs focus on issues that are relevant to people's daily lives, that they incorporate opportunities for participation and create or strengthen links to support networks, and that they use participatory methods as much as possible. In addition, they cautioned that donors should not expect civic education to have long-lasting effects on participation, to make much of an impact on values in the short term, or to overcome disadvantages among target groups.

Most of those interviewed for this paper were more optimistic about the efficacy of civic education programming than Sabatini *et al.* This may be due partly to self-interest; many of these

¹¹ Sabatini *et al*, pp. 2-3, 27-55

¹² *ibid*, pp. 1-2, 59-81

individuals administer civic education programs and they are eager to demonstrate their effectiveness. None of the other studies, assessments, or evaluations reviewed provided the rigorous, quantitative analysis undertaken by Sabatini *et al.* Nonetheless, some of the qualitative findings from these investigations suggest that exposure to civic education has significantly affected the values and behavior of the individuals involved. An important consideration here is the methodology that is applied to the evaluation. A more qualitative approach may allow evaluators to uncover impacts that might not appear through standard methods.

One example of a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach is presented by the recent evaluation of the Step by Step program, which used a combination of classroom observation, surveys, and interviews. The researchers found that teachers, students, school administrators, and parents were all engaging in democratic behaviors to a larger degree than their counterparts outside the program.¹³ These behaviors included more participatory approaches to decision-making, more tolerance for dissent, and more acceptance and encouragement of individual initiative. These effects are somewhat different from those studied by Sabatini *et al.* The children referred to in the evaluation were too young to undertake the activities described by Sabatini *et al.* The adults surveyed did not engage in specifically political acts. Still, the behavioral changes that both children and adults demonstrated suggested that they were applying democratic concepts in their daily lives.

In general, the programs reviewed for this paper follow the guidelines for effective programming set out by Sabatini *et al.* In recognition of the value of follow-up activities and support networks, most of the programs attempted to create linkages that would outlast the programs. These took the form of NGOs and community organizations, associations of NGOs, periodic events such as annual meetings, and regular

means of exchanging information through publications, meetings, and electronic media.

In terms of offering concrete opportunities for adult political participation, many of the programs used the NGOs and community associations they created, or with whom they established links, as channels for participation. Some offered participants access to government institutions, or were aimed at specific processes, such as voting. As noted, the programs focusing on school-age children were an exception. Although these programs promote participation at many levels, e.g. by encouraging parents to become more involved in their children's education, they did not generally address *political* participation *per se*.

The finding by Sabatini *et al.* that civic education programs are more effective when they present material that is relevant to the daily lives of the participants is consistent with general research on adult education, and is also borne out by the case studies. In her study of the Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights (IPEDEHP), Marcia Bernbaum points to the emphasis the course places on the relationship between what is learned in the workshops and the participants' daily experiences as one of the key elements contributing to the success of the program.¹⁴ The cross sectoral case study also underlines the importance of this connection. In this case, the civic education element plays a small but valuable role in a project that aims to foster community based management of natural resources. Civic education is used to provide individuals and communities with the tools they need to challenge state control of natural resources. There is a direct link between the knowledge presented to the communities and their struggle to develop a sustainable source of income generation.

Sabatini *et al.* found that civic education programs that used participatory methods were more likely to show an impact on both efficacy and participation. This finding applied to both children and adults, and is supported by earlier

¹³ Brady *et al.*

¹⁴ Bernbaum, p.59

studies on civic education.¹⁵ Many of those interviewed for the case studies attached to this paper stressed the importance of participatory approaches for several reasons. First, such approaches teach democracy hands-on by instituting democratic processes, such as tolerance for dissent, within the activity. Secondly, they contribute to political efficacy by encouraging individuals who have never expressed themselves to speak openly, and by providing them the psychological space to do so. Third, participatory activities allow participants themselves to engage in critical thinking about existing rules and to engage in rule-making for the group. Such a process allows participants to set the terms of analysis, not only to respond to what is presented to them. This sense of empowerment may be particularly valuable for groups of individuals who have been disenfranchised or marginalized. In the IPEDEHP study, Bernbaum stresses the therapeutic effect that interactive activities have on the victims of violence and human rights abuses.¹⁶ She also emphasizes the powerful effect of providing these people with the tools for critical thinking. Through the training and support provided by the program, these individuals now view themselves as actors rather than passive recipients of government actions.¹⁷

Bernbaum offers a more positive assessment of the ability of civic education to overcome severe obstacles presented by the political, economic, or social context in which the participants operate than Sabatini *et al.* A 1998 evaluation of the Women in Politics (WIP) program drew similar conclusions about the constraints on civic education programs. The WIP program seeks to increase women's political participation in the Asia-Pacific region. The 1998 evaluation emphasized the importance of women's status and the extent to which democratic norms, practices and structures had been consolidated in a given context as fundamental constraints to

women's political participation.¹⁸ The report noted that training could instill a desire to participate and knowledge about how to participate, but it could not change barriers to participation. For this reason, the authors advocated embedding training in institution building programs. By developing institutions within civil society, government, and the political arena, these programs might offer women meaningful venues for participation as well as creating support networks.¹⁹ The IPEDEHP program may have resolved the issues raised by the WIP evaluation by creating two sets of linkages: first, a support network consisting of national NGOs, local community organizations, and like-minded individuals, and second, a direct relationship with two governmental institutions responsible for dealing with human rights issues. Other civic education programs have sought to create these kinds of linkages to a lesser extent. This approach is worth further exploration.

An independent assessment of civic education programming funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in Russia from 1994-1997 produced several conclusions about program implementation that are worth reporting.²⁰ The assessment reviewed six organizations that had received NED funding from 1994-1997. The organizations were:

1. St. Petersburg Law School (subsequently renamed the Institute of Law), which designed and conducted experimental classes in human rights, law, and civic issues for high school students. This program drew on the same basic materials that were used for the Street Law Programme in South Africa.
2. Educated Choices Heighten Opportunities (ECHO), which developed curricula and organized seminars on democracy and democratic education in Siberia and other

¹⁵ Sabatini *et al*, pp. 51-52, 75-79

¹⁶ Bernbaum, pp 56-70

¹⁷ IPEDEHP's emphasis on promoting critical thinking builds on theories espoused by Paulo Freire and others. See Gaventa, p. 32

¹⁸ Bevis *et al*, p. iii

¹⁹ *ibid*, pp.18-19

²⁰ National Endowment for Democracy, p.3

parts of Russia, and which was the only organization with an American staff.

3. Development Through Education Fund of the City of Togliatti, which was established by the municipal administration to promote educational reform and which conducted seminars for teachers on democratic curricula and teaching methods. The Fund also developed textbooks, provided computer training, and established a resource center for civic education.
4. Uchitel'skaia gazeta (Teachers' Newspaper) which held a 1994 conference that led to the formation of the Russian Association of Civic Educators (now known as the Interregional Association "For Civic Education, and which published a weekly civic education supplement for the Association. The newspaper also held a Civic Education Olympiad in Moscow in 1997.
5. Youth Center for Human Rights and Legal Culture, which worked to develop human rights education lessons for elementary and secondary schools, as well as teacher training programs. This program was notable for the creative and dynamic methods it designed.
6. Center for Private Enterprise/Junior Achievement Program, which developed a new economics textbook based on Western Economic principles.

The evaluation concluded that the organizations that were deemed most successful were those that either drew directly upon more democratic, humanistic, and pluralistic Russian traditions or those that creatively adapted foreign models to their own political and pedagogical context. The least successful program reviewed, the ECHO program, was led by American staff who were not fluent in Russian; this contributed to the program becoming isolated from other civic education activities in Russia. A second key to success in promoting civic education in Russia was the repeated testing and revision of materials, and the cultivation of detailed feedback from practitioners and students; this process both increased the effectiveness of the materials and helped to build networks. For example, the St. Petersburg Law School used American Street Law materials but adapted them to the Russian context and pilot tested them in dozens of classrooms. Third, the most successful organizations were open to substantial input from their activists and their audiences and were responsive to the needs of these groups. The Youth Center for Human Rights and Legal Culture adapted its initial, more radical methods to incorporate traditional elements so that teachers who wished to use only some of the new methods could do so. The evaluation also pointed out that one success often leads to another but also creates problems. The most successful civic education organizations graduated from NED funding to receive other support; however, they continued to rely upon international donors, leading to the danger that they would become responsive to these donors rather than to their clients.

VI. BEST PRACTICES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As noted, the case studies and materials reviewed for this paper supported the programming recommendations put forward by Sabatini et al. In sum, adult civic education programs should employ participatory methods, offer concrete opportunities for participation, and focus on themes and issues that relate to participants' daily lives. Civic education programs for children should involve the wider school environment, engage parents to the extent possible, and offer related activities.

The Sabatini study and the WIP evaluation both point to the limitations of civic education programming and the importance of the context in which the program takes place. The case studies highlight the necessity of a strong analysis of the context for determining whether or not civic education is appropriate. Such an analysis should start with basic questions about the level of democratic development, social cleavages, and key actors in the political system. Once the major obstacles to and opportunities for democratic development have been identified, a decision about the appropriate response can be made.

Most civic education programs require a relatively open political system, e.g. one that permits NGOs to hold public seminars. In pre-transition contexts, civic education may be camouflaged under less explicitly political headings and may therefore be permitted by the regime. This strategy was used by the Street Law Program in South Africa in the 1980s. Another approach is to combine civic education with programs that are not focused on democratic change, such as programs in environmental management or health and population. These programs also have the advantage of providing individuals with tools they need to resolve problems that have a strong and direct impact on their daily lives, thus the information provided to them is more likely to have an impact.

Even in receptive political environments, civic education programs rarely succeed without broad networks to support them. These networks provide channels for participation as well as reinforcing the messages that the programs deliver. The programs reviewed for this case study created networks linking participants to community organizations, peer groups, or national NGOs as vehicles for participation. For reasons of sustainability, it is often better to use existing networks or organizations for this purpose, as, for example IPEDHEP and IADN did. However, many civic education programs take place when such organizations do not exist and have to be created.

The 1998 WIP evaluation recommends the creation of linkages to state institutions and decision-making bodies to strengthen program impacts.²¹ Several of the programs reviewed for this case study did so. For example, the Orava program worked closely with the Ministry of Education to obtain formal approval and certification for its teaching methodology. The IPEDHEP program integrated representatives from the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman into its workshops. *Vkloochis* worked with the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation. These linkages strengthened these programs by providing participants with access to decision-makers and to resources. In many contexts such cooperation will not be possible, but when it is, it is worth undertaking.

As with other development programs, there is always the question whether a civic education program can sustain itself after initial funding ends. Civic education programs are unlikely to develop a set of individual clients who will pay for the services they receive. On the other hand, such activities may be attractive to governments, foundations or international donors who will provide funding. Civic education programs and organizations often spawn other activities, such as NGO training and support programs, which create constituencies that may be willing and able to pay. Programs that can create ongoing

²¹ Bevis *et al*, p.33

sources of funding are considered sustainable for the purposes of this paper, even if these sources do not fit traditional definitions of sustainability involving local or national community based support.

The case studies point to several, more operational lessons learned. In terms of sustainability, the first lesson from the case studies is that programs that have sufficient resources and are of long duration appear to be more successful at implanting themselves. These programs have the time to develop a cadre of supporters who see their own interests as linked to the maintenance of these activities. Second, flexibility, particularly with programs that last for several years, is an asset. Civic education programs generally operate in fluid circumstances, and programming strategies need to adjust to changing contexts. This is particularly true of programs that take place in the early stages of a democratic transition, when the political terrain is rapidly shifting. Third, use of a variety of methodologies ensures that most participants will find something that engages their attention. It also allows programmers to adjust their approach if the target audience seems to respond better to one method than another.

One methodology that is worth further exploration is mass media: print, broadcast, and the Internet. Several of the programs reviewed for this paper used mass media to positive effect, most notably Vkloochis and Street Law, which used the media to reach out to youthful audiences. Both Vkloochis and Street Law created television programs that combined

education with entertainment. In both cases, the programs were effective in attracting young people, although Vkloochis found that in at least one case the information provided was overwhelmed by the entertainment. For programs with broad geographic reach, such as the Inter-American Democracy Network, or with isolated target audiences, computer communications facilitate sustained contact. Although these methods lack the intensity that personal contact provides they are effective ways of disseminating information, and may be useful complements to more interactive activities.

Two other points are worth USAID attention. First, in designing programs, it is important to be attentive to the balance between local control and external control over the program. If the technical capacity exists, it is probably preferable for the in-country presence to be dominated by indigenous staff, and for decision-making responsibility to be concentrated there. If the capacity doesn't exist, the program should seek to develop it and to transfer responsibility for program design and implementation at the appropriate time. Second, civic education program designs should include impact monitoring and assessment, both during and after program activities, whenever possible. The quantitative methods employed by Sabatini et al provide important information, but they are expensive and time consuming. There may be other qualitative evaluation methods, such as those employed by the Step by Step evaluation and IPEDEHP study, that provide meaningful results that are less demanding to perform.

VII. CASE STUDIES

The case studies were selected to illustrate the spectrum of civic education programming. They include programs from each of the four regions-- Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and the Newly Independent States, Africa, and Asia and the Near East--in which USAID operates. They present programs that vary in cost, duration, and intensity. They showcase different approaches to civic education, displaying varying methodologies and a range of implementing partners. Each case study was chosen because it presents a typical approach to civic education programming by a particular NGO; e.g. the Civic Forum model has been used by NDI in several countries. With the exception of Step by Step and the Helsinki Human Rights School, they were all funded to some extent by USAID. Step by Step was funded by the Open Society Institute/Soros Foundation; however, the evaluation of the program was paid for by USAID. The Helsinki Human Rights School was part of the USAID study on the impact of civic education program referred to earlier. Table 1 presents the case studies in a summary form.

The first nine case studies are presented in the following format:

- **Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.**
- **Problem addressed**
- **Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose**
- **Local partners**
- **Target audience**
- **Program Description**
- **Outputs and results**
- **Lessons Learned/Best Practices**

The last case study is presented in a different format as it concerns a project that does not have explicit democracy and governance related goals. It provides a summary of the project, its

civic education components, accomplishments, and the best practices that can be gleaned from the project.

A. The Orava Project—Reform of Slovakia’s Educational System to Promote Democratic Values

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.

In 1991, the then Minister of Education, Jan Pisut, visited the University of Northern Iowa (UNI) to explore how democracy could be taught in Slovakia. As a result of that visit, UNI agreed to design a program to reform pedagogical practices in Slovakia by working with the Ministry of Education, teacher preparation programs, school administrators, teachers, parents and students. The design phase of the program ran from 1991-1993 and was funded by Iowa International Development Foundation. In 1993, USAID provided a \$1 million grant to UNI to begin implementing the project in the Orava region and with faculty members at Comenius University. This was followed by a second USAID grant of \$2 million extending the project through 1999, expanding the project to the Nitra region, and providing support to institutionalize the project. USIA and the Soros Foundation-Slovakia also provided some funding for Orava.

Problem addressed

The introduction to the proposal for the 1996 extension to the Orava project presents the following argument for why the Orava project is needed:

It has long been understood, especially by totalitarian regimes, that control of the schools and the minds of young people is essential to control of a population. During the forty-five years of Soviet domination of Central and Eastern Europe schools were targeted for careful and systematic manipulation. A Soviet-style education system was imposed on all nations under Soviet control. This system of control reached

to the very heart of education, affecting classrooms and the relationship between teachers and students. Through intimidation and manipulation, teachers became conduits of ideology and students became passive receptors.

These formally [sic] subordinated nations are now struggling to establish democratic institutions. ...Amid the turmoil of transition it is becoming increasingly apparent that the hope for democracy rests with the schools and in the minds and hearts of young people.²²

The Orava project attempted to counter the values inculcated by the Communist regime and to replace them with an “ethic of democracy.” This ethic of democracy comprised a set of behaviors fundamental to democratic citizenship including:

- demonstrating independent critical thinking skills
- formulating independently held opinions and beliefs
- respecting alternative perspectives and the rights of others to disagree
- demonstrating problem solving and decision making skills
- working collaboratively
- taking responsibility for independent thinking and decisions²³

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

The project had four goals. These remained constant for the duration of the project, although some of the purposes attached to each goal area changed. There was some overlap between the goal areas; the following lists the goals and the primary purposes associated with each.

1. **Democratization of the Slovak public school program, at the basic school level.** This goal area emphasized the creation of a core group of teachers, the introduction of new materials with a democratic orientation into the classroom, and the diffusion of the model in the public school system.
2. **Promote a university/public school collaborative partnership for educational excellence.** This goal area emphasized exchange of information between universities, pedagogical faculties, and public schools implementing Orava methods.
3. **Establishment of a University leadership program based upon democratic principles of management and leadership.** This goal area focussed on development of a two-year course of study at Comenius University that would train school administrators and other education leaders. This course would then be disseminated to other pedagogical institutions.
4. **Establishment of school/community linkages to promote democratic education, community leadership, and responsible citizenship.** This goal envisioned development and implementation of a community leaders training program, involving both educators and community representatives, to strengthen the links between schools and the communities in which they are located.

Local partners

Initially, the Orava project was administered by UNI out of a central office in Bratislava. This office was headed by the two American project co-directors. As the program’s activities expanded two other offices were established:

²² Meredith and Steele, 1996, p.5

²³ Meredith and Steele, 1993, pp. 2-3

one in Nitra, which was headed by two American university faculty, and, an office in Dolny Kubin which housed the program coordinator, training classrooms, and a resource library for teachers. The project was developed and implemented in close collaboration with a wide range of Slovak partners including Comenius University, Constantine the Philosopher University, the Ministry of Education, local school administrators, teachers, and parents.

Target audience

Orava had two target audiences. The first group was made up of those involved in the professional training provided by Orava: core teacher leaders (CTL) and teachers, faculty at pedagogical institutes, and school administrators. The second group consisted of the beneficiaries of the training, the students and the parents.

Program Description

The heart of the Orava program was an effort to reform relationships in the classroom in order to provide a more democratic environment for students, teachers, school administrators, and parents. The program had four main components that were based on the goal areas outlined above:

Democratizing the primary school program

The first activity under this component was the training of CTLs in the new teaching methods. Two groups of CTLs were formed; one for grades 1-4 and one for grades 5-8. Each trained teacher stayed with the same group of students for grades 1-4. Training included study tours to the United States, workshops, and seminars on topics such as collaborative math instruction. At the same time, Orava worked closely with the Vice-Dean of the Comenius University Civic Education Faculty to develop materials and revise the curriculum for students preparing to teach civic education, as well as those in-service. Dissemination of Orava methods was accomplished through the development of several manuals of both original material and

material in translation, through publication of two journals focusing on pedagogy, and through establishment of a network of CTL groups. In addition, a regional training center in Banská Bystrica adopted the Orava project Educational Leadership program and offered it to educators in the region.

Promoting a university/public school collaborative partnership

Early on, Orava established an e-mail connection between Comenius University and the Orava regional schools to increase communication and to promote sharing of ideas about the new methods. Both Comenius University and Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra developed and offered courses in the Orava method to faculty and students. In the last year of the program, five universities collaborated on a project to examine democratic pedagogical practices, with the idea that these universities would develop a network for further cooperation. Additionally, educators working with Orava developed a curriculum on conflict resolution and provided training to teachers on how to teach conflict resolution as well as how to use conflict resolution practices in the classroom.

Establishment of a University Educational Leadership program

Orava developed an eleven course core program for education leaders which was ultimately adopted by Comenius University, the Method Center in Banská Bystrica, and other pedagogical institutions. Initially, Orava staff was involved in the implementation of the program, but in 1999, Comenius University assumed responsibility for the program at the university and throughout Slovakia. An important step was gaining Ministry of Education approval for the course, which occurred in 1997. Participants in the course included school directors, State Methodotique Center personnel, State Pedagogical Center personnel, and representatives from the Ministry of Education. These participants then provided in-service training for their colleagues throughout Slovakia.

Establishment of school/community linkages

Orava offered a series of workshops for teachers on parent involvement, including information on why parent involvement was important, and suggested concrete steps teachers could take to improve communication with parents. Programs to involve parents were initiated in schools participating in the project in Orava and Nitra, and some parent associations were created. While the project was running, the Slovak government moved to limit local control of schools, and redrew district lines, establishing new lines of authority. These developments impeded the project's ability to develop meaningful school/community linkages. After the elections in 1997, this area looked more promising as the new government seemed more open to local control.

Outputs and results

During the five years of the project, Orava achieved most of the targets it had initially set for itself. Specific accomplishments included:

- Eight groups of core teacher leaders were trained in Orava methods and equipped to train practicing teachers throughout Slovakia. Over 2000 teachers and 800 school directors received Orava in-service training.
- Eight guides for teaching the Orava method were developed and disseminated, and a video was produced.
- A permanent resource center and library was created for Orava teachers in Dolny Kubin.
- The Orava teacher development curriculum received Ministry approval and was integrated into the Regional Methods Center teacher in-service program
- The first Slovak Educational Leadership program was instituted at Comenius University with Ministry approval for the curriculum Orava developed.
- An NGO was created to carry out Orava activities on a sustainable basis.

The documents available for this case study provided anecdotal reports of favorable reactions from teachers and examples of more democratic

behavior by students. Aside from this, there was little information about the impact of the Orava project on the individual participants. An April 1995 evaluation of the project was positive, but was too early to observe significant results. There has been no assessment of the impact on the democratic values and behaviors of the students receiving the training. A final evaluation of the project is now underway; it is possible that this evaluation will examine results in this area.

The project does appear to have been successful in terms of penetrating the Slovak educational system. The widespread acceptance of the methods it proposed suggest that it offered something of value to Slovak educators, especially since the program took place during a period of major political change in Slovakia. Additionally, some of the courses and materials it proposed have now become part of the formal school curriculum at primary and university level. The project created new channels for exchange of information and ideas between teachers, administrators, university faculty, and Ministry officials, but it is unclear how long these channels will last without external support.

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

The Orava project benefited from having resources over a fairly long period of time. This support enabled the project to deepen its contacts and develop a wide-ranging network, which in turn enabled it to accomplish an ambitious program. The project also offered the teachers tools they could immediately apply in their classrooms, and showed them how they could do so.

Orava positioned itself well. The project worked with both government and educational institutions to ensure Orava methods would be replicated and continued. This appears to have been a successful strategy for the sustainability of project activities as it led to government sanction of Orava methodologies. As a result, Orava has now been accepted as a course that leads to certification and increases in salaries for teachers. In addition, Orava brought government and non-governmental institutions

into cooperation with each other, for the benefit of the educational system. Orava also worked at many different levels within the Slovak educational system. Although this was an ambitious, and more difficult approach, it created many structures and systems for reinforcing the methods that Orava promoted.

The project was administered and managed by Americans initially, and relied significantly on American technical expertise. Nonetheless, according to the 1995 evaluation, the project administrators handled decisions in such a way that allowed Slovaks to feel that they controlled the process. This sense of ownership may have contributed to the popularity of the program.

The least successful element of the program appears to have been the school/community linkage component. This may have been due in part to the difficult political circumstances under which the program took place, i.e. first a strongly centralizing government, and then a redistricting process. Parents play an important role in their children's socialization and education; it is unclear how much the relatively weak performance of this element affected the overall impact on the children. This question would be worth further exploration.

B. Step by Step--Teaching democratic values and promoting educational reform throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States.

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.

In 1994, the Open Society Institute (OSI), backed by the Soros Foundation, funded Children's Resource International to develop a program in Central and Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States. The program focussed on education reform for children in the preschool years. It offered a new child-centered approach to teaching, which was intended to engender democratic ideals and principles within young children and their families. Step by Step also made a conscious effort to incorporate

children from marginalized social and ethnic groups (e.g., the Roma in Eastern and Central Europe) and to integrate children with disabilities into regular classrooms.

The program started as a pilot in 15 countries with 250 classrooms. It currently operates as an accepted educational alternative in over 5,636 classrooms in 26 countries. From its beginnings in Eastern and Central Europe it has expanded to locations in Central Asia. Step by Step has recently initiated new programs in South Africa and Haiti as well. The program has also expanded to include children from birth to age ten, and has begun to work with universities and pedagogical institutes, as well as with education and health ministries.

During the first few years of the program, Step by Step received most of its funding from OSI. It now receives significant funding from other donors, including UNICEF and the World Bank. Step by Step provides an initial five-year commitment of support in each country it enters. Start-up costs average \$200,000 for the first year; the amount of funding OSI provides often decreases in subsequent years. Step by Step seeks matching funds and in-kind contributions from local authorities, parents, and national ministries.

Problem addressed

In the turbulent period following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a vigorous debate grew about the fastest, most effective way to create a "culture of democracy" in the region. Individuals who had grown up under communist systems lacked many of the attributes of democratic citizenship: they lacked knowledge about democratic processes, they were reluctant to take political action, they were intolerant of dissent, and they had learned to avoid taking personal responsibility for their actions. The Step by Step program attempted to address these deficits by educating a new generation of citizens. By reaching children in their very early years, and by working with those who most influence them, teachers and parents, the Step by Step program aimed to foster

individuals whose fundamental values and attitudes would be democratic in orientation.

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

The goals of the Step by Step program are:

1. To teach children to make effective choices, understand the consequences of their actions, and respect the different styles of their fellow students.
2. To involve parents for the first time in the education of their children

In each country, Step by Step attempts to:

- Ensure the sustainability and replicability of program schools that provide high quality educational activities to children and families
- Institute reform of all levels of teacher preparation and re-training systems
- Establish quality guidelines for Step by Step program schools and training programs
- Obtain ministry support for the program in participating countries
- Establish in each country a Step by Step NGO or Association which will, in the long term, protect the quality of the program and promote its vision after OSI funding ends.

Local partners

In each country, Step by Step works hand in hand with the local OSI foundation to select a country team that will assume responsibility for launching the program. In some countries the country teams have also become the foundation for independent non-governmental organizations charged with continuing the Step by Step work after OSI funding ends. Typically each team includes a country director and master teacher trainers. In each location within the country, Step by Step works with parents, teachers, and administrators to implement the program. As Step by Step has matured, it has added new partners. It now works with university and pedagogical faculty to train teachers to use

child-centered methods of teaching. It also actively seeks links to national ministries.

Target audience

Step by Step is based on a training of trainers system. Its primary audiences are the trainers (the country team, the master teachers, and the faculty at the teaching institutions who train new teachers) and the trainees (the teachers). The ultimate beneficiaries of the program are the children and their families. Step by Step plans to intensify its work with parents and is currently developing a manual for training parents in advocacy techniques.

Program Description

In each country, Step by Step follows the same basic steps over a five-year cycle. The country team is established and requests approval from the Ministry of Education to use Step by Step methods. The team travels to the United States for training by CRI and is paired with at least two American trainers who provide on-going training and technical assistance. As part of the training process, the country team is charged with adapting the materials and methods presented by Step by Step to the particular conditions in its own country.

The team then selects approximately 10 kindergarten sites, through a competition, for initiating the program. The team trains the teachers and supplies each model classroom with educational materials, furniture, and equipment. In some instances, Step by Step has provided funds for school renovation, nutrition supplements, or medical care. After the first classrooms have been established, the team selects the best schools as training centers where student teachers study and acquire practical experience in the new methods. Other schools and age levels are added as more schools request participation, and more teachers are trained.

Step by Step classrooms are distinguished by a less formal atmosphere than traditional classrooms. In general, the teachers encourage the children to make decisions, take responsibility, and work together. In the

traditional system, the teacher makes all the decisions, and the children's participation is limited to answering questions put to them by the teacher. In Step by Step classes the day starts with a morning meeting. The teachers and children sit in a circle and the children relate recent experiences and talk about topics that interest them. The teacher then tries to incorporate elements from the conversation into the day's lessons so that the material relates directly to the children's experiences. During the day there are free periods when the children are encouraged to select from a variety of age-appropriate activities. For younger children, the classroom is arranged by activity or learning center, with, for example, an area for dramatic play, an art center, a literacy center, and a science center, where the children can go and play by themselves or with others during the free periods. The children are also encouraged to work with each other throughout the day to learn new material and solve problems.

At each age level, the classroom is centered around activities that reinforce Step by Step's philosophy of initiative, freedom of thought and speech, appreciation of differences, respect for individuals, and personal responsibility. In contrast to the previous rigid, hierarchical approach to education, Step by Step is child-centered and individualistic, and demands flexibility and responsiveness from teachers.

While the program is expanding, the country team establishes links with teacher training and re-training institutions to provide access to the new teaching methods through these institutions. The country team also attempts to obtain recognition as an alternative methodology by the Ministry of Education. This status makes it easier for schools to participate.

In an effort to promote the program's sustainability, Step by Step actively seeks matching funds and in-kind donations from participating schools, local authorities, and parents. In many countries, especially in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, parents were not encouraged to ask teachers questions or seek to influence decisions in the schools. Step by Step has deliberately promoted parent

engagement for several reasons. First, parent involvement in schools has been shown to have a strong positive impact on the educational achievement of children. Second, bringing the parents into the schools complements the Step by Step philosophy of fostering open discussion and encouraging personal initiative. Step by Step schools have a Parent Advisory Council, through which parents can influence decisions about programming and administration in the school. Third, directly exposing the parents to the democratic approaches adopted by the program helps them to understand and support the new values and behaviors their children are being taught. Fourth, as volunteers, parents can help make repairs, assist the teachers, and do other things to improve the environment in the schools. Step by Step plans to issue a manual on parent advocacy and to work directly with parents on becoming politically active in their communities.

The Step by Step program has also encouraged country teams to form independent NGOs or associations in the hope that these organizations will attract the funding necessary to maintain the program after OSI support ends.

Outputs and results

In the five years it has been in existence the Step by Step program has expanded rapidly and has produced a long list of achievements. It is currently active in 26 countries and over 5,500 preschool and 1,700 primary school classrooms, serving tens of thousands of children. It has reached over 9,500 new teachers and 23,800 in-service teachers with courses and practica on the new methodology. It has developed a series of guides for teacher use at infant, preschool, and primary levels, as well as a guide for teaching children with special needs, and a book on the relationship between early childhood education and democracy. Each of the guides describes curricula, teaching techniques, room arrangements and equipment, ways of involving parents, and other tools for implementing the Step by Step approach. Step by Step has also developed a series of courses to train higher education faculty to implement student-centered teaching methodologies. Several of the country

programs have formed or are forming NGOs or Associations to continue the program's work. In 1999, Step by Step created the International Step by Step Association to provide support to the national Step by Step programs.

At the country level there have also been a number of accomplishments. For example, in Albania, which was one of the first Step by Step countries, Step by Step has been approved as an alternative kindergarten program by the Ministry of Education; all salary, facility, and food costs are paid by the government; each university has a Step by Step coordinator who is responsible for incorporating courses and methods into university curricula; and, the Swiss Government has provided \$100,000 in matching funds for two infant/toddler programs. In Kazakhstan, which initiated the program in 1996, a Deputy Minister strongly recommended the program for all kindergartens; Step by Step was implemented in a new orphanage in partnership with the Bobeck Foundation; and, Step by Step has a page in the monthly preschool journal "Preschool and Family".

A 1999 USAID evaluation reported on the impact the program has had on democratic classroom practices, on the school community, and on children's learning. On the basis of research conducted in Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan, Romania, and Ukraine, the report concluded that democratic practices were pervasive in Step by Step classrooms, in contrast with practices in traditional classrooms. The children in the Step by Step classrooms were engaged in behaviors that encouraged democratic development, such as decision making, demonstration of respect for the rights of everyone, and interaction with teachers in ways that encouraged children's individuality, initiative, and questioning. Step by Step teachers appeared to have more influence in overall kindergarten management and decision-making than their counterparts in more traditional classrooms.

Step by Step programs also showed a strong impact on family involvement. Parents in Step by Step programs were present in the classroom between one and three times a month; in traditional classrooms parents were in the

classroom once or twice a year or not at all. Although there were significant variations across programs, on the whole, Step by Step parents were involved in a wide range of school-related activities such as fundraising, building furniture, or doing clerical work. From a civic education perspective, the most interesting finding about parent involvement was that parent associations existed in 100 percent of the Step by Step kindergartens, and that the members of each of these associations were elected. Many of the associations worked closely with the kindergarten administration and some also provided support for social services outside the kindergarten. Taken together, these results suggest that parents were drawn into the democratic environment their children were experiencing. This idea would be worth testing further.

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

The Step by Step program is an educational program that is meant to improve the quality of children's learning. At the same time, it is meant to foster their growth as citizens of a democratic state. Although the ultimate success of Step by Step will only be determined when these children become adults, there is evidence that the program is having a positive impact. There are several elements of the program that contribute to its achievements.

To date, Step by Step has benefited from significant resources provided by OSI. Each country program has the benefit of annual budgets plus the knowledge that support will continue over five years. The level of resources provided permits the program to develop over time. The relatively long duration of the program permits the Step by Step team to methodically develop a network of contacts, and to deepen those contacts over the years. It allows the program to evolve at a reasonable pace.

In keeping with studies on how children are socialized and how they develop political attitudes, the Step by Step program reaches out to two of the major influences on a child: his/her family and school environment. By encouraging democratic behavior in both arenas,

Step by Step reinforces its message. Step by Step also conscientiously works to ground its methods in the local context. It is worth noting that Step by Step methods can be used with traditional educational content as well as with new material.

Step by Step has worked to ensure the sustainability of the program in several ways. First, by ensuring that children in the program achieve as much academically as their peers who do not participate, Step by Step has made itself competitive. Second, it has integrated itself into the key education systems in each country: education ministries, universities, pedagogical institutions, schools, and kindergartens. Beyond this network, Step by Step has engaged a range of stakeholders in the process of establishing and maintaining the program, thus ensuring widespread support.

Financial sustainability remains a challenge. Step by Step has already established a practice of soliciting support for the program from the participating schools. Approximately 12 country programs have formed or are forming NGOs or Associations to sustain Step by Step activities after OSI funding ends. Step by Step provides the new NGOs with office equipment and vehicles. The program also assists the new organizations to register as NGOs and provides advice on financial management and fundraising. In most cases, the boards of directors of the new organizations have representatives from the national OSI office as well as the American Step by Step organization, Children's Resources International.

C. Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Human Rights School—teaching elites about human rights and the rule of law

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer, etc.

The Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights was established in 1989. It was preceded by the Helsinki Committee, which worked underground from 1982 to 1989. After the political transition

began in Poland in 1989, the members of the Helsinki Committee took advantage of the political opening to set up an independent institute for education and research in human rights. In 1990, Helsinki became an operating foundation, as Polish law did not allow for the establishment of independent institutes.

Initially, the organization prepared and distributed information on the human rights situation in Poland. The first Helsinki Foundation human rights course took place in 1991 and was funded by a grant from the International Centre for Human Rights and Democracy Development, located in Montreal. Now the Helsinki Foundation runs 29 programs in three areas: human rights education (the Human Rights School), human rights defense and strategic litigation, and human rights monitoring. Since 1991, the Ford Foundation, the Batory Foundation, and the Open Society Institute have funded the Human Rights School. In 1998 total costs for the Human Rights School, comprising two general courses, 2 advanced seminars, and a graduate seminar/reunion, totaled \$177,000.

Problem addressed

Civil society continued to play an important role in Poland following World War II, despite the succession of authoritarian regimes that controlled the country. First the Catholic Church, and later the workers' movement represented by Solidarity, posed significant, and ultimately successful challenges to the Communist governments. The Helsinki Human Rights Foundation grew out of this tradition of an active civil society working in opposition to a repressive state. As later described by Marek Nowicki, the President of the Foundation:

Citizens conscious of their rights and capable of implementing the mechanisms that can defend them are stronger in their relationship with authorities. A society comprised of citizens conscious of their rights will not

give in to any eventual “totalitarian counter-revolution.”²⁴

The Helsinki Human Rights School was conceived as one means of enabling the citizens of Poland to protect their rights and defend the emerging democracy in Poland.

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

The overarching goal of the Human Rights School is to build a civil society, establish the rule of law, and promote and protect human rights in the form of civil liberties. Its operational goal is to expand the group of those competent to teach human rights in their communities and professions.

Local partners

The Helsinki Foundation runs the Human Rights School itself, drawing on its connections with Polish universities and courts to furnish expert lecturers for the courses. It has no formal partnerships for this program, as it does for many of its other programs. As noted below, Helsinki does maintain contact with graduates of the school, and the independent NGOs they have established. Many of the graduates work with the schools and other institutions with which they are affiliated to introduce human rights into curricula and procedures.

Target audience

The Helsinki Foundation Human Rights School targets an elite audience, composed of people who are influential in their professions or in other arenas. The Human Rights School initially worked with educators. After the third course, the School broadened its scope to include NGO activists. Subsequently it broadened its scope again to incorporate representatives of “rights-sensitive” professions: lawyers, prosecutors, judges, journalists, police officers, prison guards, and border guards. All of the students

are university graduates. Candidates are recruited through advertisements in the media and are selected on the basis of their knowledge and level of interest in the subject, their profession and position in their communities, and their potential to influence their local or professional communities. As a national organization, Helsinki tries to achieve regional representation among its participants but also tries to select candidates from regions that already have graduates, so that they can support each other. Helsinki reaches out to women, sexual minorities, and other groups that have suffered from discrimination.

Program description

About one-quarter of Helsinki’s education programs are oriented towards international activities: regional conferences, comparative country studies, training seminars for individuals from other countries, etc. Its domestic education programs are divided into three groups: public education, professional education, and the school for human rights. Helsinki’s public education efforts include a series of educational films on human rights, a TV discussion program, articles in newspapers and journals, human rights education packets, and radio programs. The professional program focuses on providing human rights education to specific professional groups. Helsinki has developed and taught courses and seminars for police officers, prison guards, teacher colleges, and judges. For example, since 1992 Helsinki has worked with the Police Training Center in Warsaw to develop a training program and materials on human rights for police officers.

The Human Rights School offers an intensive, five-month training program. Each course provides 200 hours of training; sessions are 2-4 days long and are held every other week. Courses are offered twice a year. The lecturers include researchers and professors from Polish universities, and judges from the Polish Supreme Court and Constitutional Tribunal. The course presents topics such as the philosophy of human rights, the structure of Polish legal institutions, and the content of Polish law. Topics are added and modified to reflect developments in the field

²⁴ Marek Nowicki, personal correspondence, November 1999.

of human rights. For example, seminars on bioethics, and victims' rights have recently been added. Training is primarily through lectures. At the end of the course, students may choose to participate in participatory workshops on teaching rights or NGO leadership skills. With the exception of these two workshops, the course deals with human rights content rather than methodology for teaching or transmitting human rights knowledge. After passing the rigorous final exam, graduates are certified to teach human rights in high school and special colleges, or in their communities or professions.

Helsinki maintains contact with its graduates by sending them information about relevant events and human rights resources. It offers graduates advice and assistance in their human rights work, and since 1994 has provided financial support to educational projects initiated by graduates. Helsinki organizes an annual three-day reunion and seminar for its graduates and helps graduates with regional meetings. The graduates themselves have organized an annual reunion which all graduates are invited to attend. Helsinki has also developed more advanced courses for its graduates in topics such as the rights of the child or prisoners' rights.

Outputs and results:

Helsinki has graduated approximately 460 students from 16 courses since 1991. Approximately 70% of the graduates are active in human rights education. The Helsinki Human Rights School remains a prestigious institution attracting students from diverse professions--the ratio of applicants to places is approximately 7:1--even though several universities now offer human rights courses. It is worth noting that although the Human Rights School encourages graduates to transmit the knowledge they have gained to others, it does not offer training in how to use this knowledge, nor does it directly provide opportunities for doing so; it is theoretical, rather than practical, in orientation. Since 1997, Helsinki has offered a complementary program, the Human Rights Training Center, which trains trainers and consultants from Poland and other countries in

human rights monitoring and public interest advocacy.

Graduates of the Human Rights School have established 20 independent, officially registered, local NGOs which monitor human rights, organize public lectures, and arrange "second level" training sessions in their areas. The local groups develop their own methodology for training, and tend to run shorter, more narrowly focused classes, for example, a human rights class in a Wroclaw technical institute for engineers. Helsinki stays in contact with these groups and provides technical assistance as needed. One graduate of the program reported that her local association has prepared manuals on teaching human rights and has developed lesson plans using a multi-media format. This group has taught 100 teachers over a two-year period and given workshops for a youth group, as well as offering to teach human rights courses to government staff and local council members.

The Helsinki Foundation Human Rights School is one of the organizations that were surveyed by Sabatini *et al* in their study of the impact of civic education.²⁵ Analysis of survey data conducted for this study showed that the Helsinki program had statistically significant, positive results for participants in these areas: political knowledge, political efficacy, tolerance, support for democratic liberties, and political participation. In other words, the Helsinki program had a noticeable and positive effect on some aspects of the skills, knowledge levels, and behavior of participants. The Helsinki program was one of the few in the study that showed statistically significant impacts on democratic values.

Lessons learned/Best practices

The Helsinki Foundation Human Rights School is unique among the programs surveyed in its combination of intensity, duration, and a narrow focus on an elite audience. This combination may explain why the program has had a relatively strong impact on the political participation levels of its graduates, despite the

²⁵ Sabatini *et al*, pp. 43-52

lack of direct links to channels for participation, and the absence of participatory methods in its training course. In its work with professionals, e.g. lawyers, journalists, and corrections officers, the Human Rights School does aim to influence the standards of behavior governing the profession, as well as to increase awareness about human rights. Thus there is an element of behavior change built into the program.

Helsinki graduates also benefit from ongoing contact with the program and with a network of human rights activists. In a focus group conducted for the study by Sabatini *et al*, Helsinki participants pointed to the importance of the contact and support from Helsinki, and the national network Helsinki offers. Helsinki has deliberately avoided establishing local branches, believing that a network of independent, locally based NGOs will be stronger than a centralized organization. This approach also emphasizes the initiative and commitment of the local groups that form the NGOs.

D. Civic Forum--Fostering democracy in the West Bank and Gaza through a network of discussion groups

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.

In 1994, NDI received a sub-grant from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, under USAID's Democratic Understanding and Development Project, to promote democratic processes in the West Bank and Gaza. USAID provided an additional grant to NDI in 1994 to continue and develop its activities, and a third grant in 1996. The second and third grants covered the costs of the Civic Forum program, which totaled approximately \$400,000 per year. In the period leading up to the first national Palestinian elections, NDI conducted a number of activities that aimed both to prepare Palestinians to participate in the elections and also to teach them about fundamental democratic principles and processes. With the initial USAID funding, NDI organized a series of focus groups to explore the best way to provide civic education to Palestinians living in

the West Bank/Gaza, arranged a number of moderated public discussions on democratic issues, and organized public meetings between Palestinian Authority officials and citizen groups. Using information gathered from the focus groups, in 1995, NDI initiated the Civic Forum civic education program in the West Bank and Gaza. In 1996, NDI added another program, Civic Activities, which ran parallel to the Civic Forum program for two years and focused on strengthening NGOs as a vehicle for citizen participation in the policy-making process. NDI's civil society program (encompassing both Civic Forum and Civic Activities) continued to receive funding from USAID until the end of 1998. The Palestinian NGO established by NDI to perpetuate the Civic Forum model also received USAID support in 1999. NDI also continued to provide technical assistance to the organization with National Endowment for Democracy funds.

Problem addressed

After decades of occupation by different foreign powers, the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza finally gained some measure of autonomy under the Oslo Peace Accords signed between Israel and the Palestinians in 1993. Despite a high level of political awareness and sophistication among Palestinians and a relatively well-developed NGO sector, Palestinians still had very little practical knowledge of democratic practices and institutions. A 1994 USAID project paper noted that the central challenge to implementing the Peace Accords was

...the establishment, under as yet un-negotiated restrictions, of a Palestinian, self-governing administration. Viability of that administration and sustainability of progress made in all technical sectors will depend on ability [sic] to guarantee three critical requirements:

- gaining broad public support for the emerging self-governing system, its officials, and its policies
- maintaining social order and safeguarding public resources

through the just implementation of the rule of law

- providing opportunities for citizens to participate in building this new society free from excessive governmental control²⁶

As a result of this analysis, the USAID mission determined that USAID's strategic objective for WB/G democracy and governance programs would be: "Palestinians establish democratic and legal institutions to strengthen accountability." The project paper noted that USAID could best support the Palestinians in their quest for good governance by supporting a range of Palestinian led organizations, including non-governmental organizations. NDI's program, *In Support of Palestinian Democracy*, was part of USAID's effort to support and promote an informed and active civil society in the West Bank and Gaza .

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

The NDI civil society program in the West Bank and Gaza had three goals:

- An enhanced understanding among Palestinians of the role of citizens and civil society in the formal democratic decision-making process
- An increase in the active participation of Palestinian citizens and civic groups in public policy processes
- An expanded dialogue between Palestinian citizens and the officials they elected.²⁷

The West Bank and Gaza were the first locations in which NDI used the Civic Forum model. NDI

has since used the model in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere, and has developed a manual to guide NDI staff in implementing Civic Forum programs. The manual defines the goals of this approach as follows:

The goal of Civic Forum programs is to increase the willingness and ability of citizens to participate in a range of political processes. Citizens, who are defined here as members of the adult, voting age populations, take part in a series of facilitated, educational discussions where knowledge of democratic principles, institutions and practices is introduced; various skills are developed and applied; and, basic democratic values are practiced.²⁸

Local partners

The Civic Forum program employed Palestinian staff and a cadre of trained Palestinian moderators. Civic Forum events were organized in cooperation with local organizations and associations which provided venues and selected participants. None of these organizations received any funding from Civic Forum. In most cases, participants in one Civic Forum group would be drawn from one association or organization, as part of the intent of the Civic Forum program was to strengthen these groups through their participation in Civic Forum. (Many of the groups also participated in the companion Civic Activities program.) In June 1998, a Palestinian NGO, also called Civic Forum, was established to administer the Civic Forum program. NDI entered into a cooperative agreement with the new NGO for six months. NDI continues to provide organizational development training to the Civic Forum NGO with funds from the National Endowment for Democracy.

²⁶ U. S. Agency for International Development, "Project Paper," West Bank and Gaza Democratic Understanding and Development Project, p.5

²⁷ National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, "Final Report: Building an Informed and Active Civil Society in the West Bank and Gaza Strip," p. 8

²⁸ National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, "Democracy Education Civic Forum Style," Introduction

Target audience

The Civic Forum project targeted a broad range of individual Palestinians from a variety of backgrounds and locations, as well as a wide network of local Palestinian associations and groups. The individuals taking part in the groups generally had some status in their communities, but were not necessarily from the elites. As noted, most of the members of any specific Civic Forum group were drawn from one organization or association. As a result, the members of each Civic Forum group had a pre-existing and continuing connection to each other, as well as to an independent organization. By working with these individuals, the project sought to guide the host organizations into developing a strategy and becoming more active in the civic arena. Civic Forum avoided working with organizations that had political affiliations, and tried to assemble groups that included members from a range of political factions. Civic Forum also found that working with urban, intellectual associations was difficult, as these groups were less open to exploring new ideas.

Program Description

The Civic Forum approach is based on participation in a series of facilitated, small group discussions organized in cooperation with community groups. After selecting and training a group of Palestinian moderators, NDI worked with the moderators to determine what community organizations would be involved and how to construct the discussion groups themselves. Each group was composed of 15-20 participants, along with the moderator. For the first cycle, each group met every six weeks for two years, covering 15 topics. Topics covered in the program included:

- The Palestinian Electoral System
- The Rule of Law in a Democracy
- Political Parties in a Democracy
- The Future of NGOs in the West Bank and Gaza
- Legislative-Executive Relations and the Budgeting Process

In December 1997, the cycle was shortened to six topics in nine months, to lessen the time demands on the participants. The final session was also modified to focus on actions the participants would take after they graduated from the program. During this session, the moderator facilitated a discussion on the goals of the organization the participants belonged to and the activities the organization planned to achieve as well as encouraging the participants to plan realizable civic projects. As a means of reinforcing the commitment to apply what they had learned, participants were also asked to sign an agreement indicating what Civic Forum would provide and what the participants would be expected to do.

As a complement to the discussion sessions, Civic Forum published and distributed handouts relating to the democratic concepts and specific issues covered in the sessions, as well as a quarterly newsletter, *Al Ufuq* (Horizons) in both Arabic and English. The newsletter contained information about the overall program and the themes Civic Forum addressed.

NDI Civic Forum staff and local committees organized a regular series of town hall meetings and panel discussions throughout the West Bank and Gaza, in response to requests from local NGOs participating in the program. The meetings were attended by Palestinian Authority officials, Palestine Legislative Council Members, and the public, and dealt with current topics such as the drafting of the Basic Law or the preparation of the Palestinian Authority budget. Civic Forum graduates also conducted low-level advocacy campaigns, organized volunteer days to clean up neighborhoods, and educated others in their communities about democratic issues.

In January 1998, the Civic Forum program added the Field Activities Unit to expand its outreach and increase advocacy training. Three former Civic Forum discussion group moderators trained former program participants who themselves wished to be trainers. The former moderators also advised NGOs on a range of advocacy issues. As one of its undertakings, the Field Activities Unit gathered

local committees of current and past participants to organize town hall meetings in their communities.

Due to the high level of interest in the Civic Forum method, NDI decided to create a Palestinian NGO that could continue to apply this method after the USAID grant ended. Starting in February 1997, Civic Forum staff and moderators went through an eighteen month-long process to set priorities for the new organization, assess needs for future civic education activities in the West Bank and Gaza, learn managerial and administrative skills, and take the bureaucratic steps necessary to create the Civic Forum NGO. Civic Forum was officially established as an NGO in June 1998.

Outputs and results

Under the Civic Forum program, an average of 331 organizations held sessions on each of twelve topics between January 1997 and December 1998.²⁹ Over 5,000 people attended the sessions on a regular basis. During the same period, Civic Forum organized 20 town hall meetings, each of which had approximately 135 participants. Civic Forum produced and distributed 12,500 handouts for each Civic Forum discussion topic, and printed six editions of *Al-Ufuq* at 10,000 copies per edition. In addition, the independent Palestinian NGO Civic Forum, which continues to sponsor Civic Forum sessions and to disseminate information about democratic principles and public policy issues, was established and functioning at the end of the program.

There are no quantitative measures of impact of the program, but there are several qualitative indicators, which suggest that Civic Forum did have an impact. NDI reports that many of the graduates of the Civic Forum program have undertaken civic activities such as urging government authorities to improve water and sewer systems, building soccer fields and creating sports clubs, and volunteering for

community projects. These activities appear to be small and local; however, in the difficult political environment in the West Bank and Gaza during this period, there were few opportunities for national advocacy and many obstacles to activity even at the local/community level.

An independent evaluation of the Civic Forum program based on 18 focus groups conducted in October-November 1997 concluded that there were significant differences in attitudes between Civic Forum participants and non-participants.³⁰ The following excerpt from the evaluation report summarizes some of the differences:

Some non-participants even view democracy with an air of suspicion and have a somewhat xenophobic reaction to it. These individuals see democracy as a possible tool of manipulation by outside interests in the West and as potentially threatening to corrupt Muslim society.....For example, in the Hebron students group [of non-participants], only about half felt that democracy was a desirable thing for Palestinians. Their main stated reasons was that Islam should rule and democracy had no right to infringe on that.....In contrast, in the participant groups, people unanimously felt democracy was very desirable and the majority saw no conflict between Islam or the Koran and democracy.

Most non-participants also felt democracy was a distant and foreign thing and something that was definitely not part of their personal reality or remotely within their reach.

²⁹ No figures are available for the number of participants in the earlier programs.

³⁰ The report on the focus groups does not indicate the extent to which the Civic Forum participants were involved in the program, nor does it indicate whether they were graduates of the program, or still actively involved. It is also unclear what criteria were used to select the "non-participants" group or whether a control group was used.

This underlined a general feeling among them that they were essentially powerless and that they personally did not have any sort of significant role in society or any ability to influence things. Civic Forum participants, on the other hand, had a very detailed conception of democracy and spoke with great earnestness about the importance of its elements, including such things as the Basic Law, the constitution, separation of powers and the budget.

Participants saw democracy as very real and present in their lives and society and they were eager to apply it and practice it.³¹

It is worth noting that the evaluation found that men saw democracy as a tool for solving problems in their communities, e.g. fixing roads, and improving local government, while women were more interested in how it applied to issues such as divorce, women's rights, young marriage, etc. According to the report, "a number of female participants said they have begun to apply what they have learned about democracy to domestic situations including their right to express themselves in the home and in connection to their relationships with male members of their family."³²

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

The Civic Forum approach, as implemented in the West Bank/Gaza and elsewhere by NDI, has several elements which contributed to its effectiveness. First, it employed a highly participatory approach, which allowed the participants to experience hands-on democracy. The fact that the participants met in small groups, with others from similar backgrounds, over a period of several months allowed them to build trust in each other and the moderator, and to delve deeply into the topics being covered. This structure was also fairly flexible; the topics could be modified according to the interests of

the participants. In addition, the composition of the groups could be arranged to suit the cultural and political conditions in the West Bank and Gaza. For example, in the West Bank and Gaza, a few groups had both men and women, but most were single sex, in deference to prevailing attitudes.

On a more strategic level, Civic Forum offers some lessons about timing. Initially, the Civic Forum sessions dealt with more theoretical topics and were less explicitly directed at mobilizing the participants to take action. Following so closely on the first democratic national elections in the West Bank and Gaza, the Civic Forum sessions fulfilled a thirst for basic information that had been previously denied to the inhabitants of the area. In the period surrounding a major transition, such as a first election, a more theoretical approach to civic education may be valuable.

By the time the program entered its second cycle, it had developed more of an emphasis on mobilizing the participants to take action to implement what they had learned in their communities. Not only were participants asked to make specific commitments, and to plan activities that they could undertake, but also the Civic Forum Program was linked to the newer Civic Activities program, which taught advocacy and management skills to Palestinian NGOs cooperating with the Civic Forum program. This approach is more typical of adult civic education programs and is more likely to lead to demonstrable, short-term results.

E. Vocea Civica/CENTRAS—Civic Education to solidify democracy in Romania

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.

In 1992, USAID provided a grant to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems to undertake a Civic Education Project in Romania. During the first phase of the project, July 1992-April 1993, IFES identified potential civic education leaders and existing NGOs, and held a series of regional workshops on civic

³¹ Viewpoints Research Ltd., pp. 7-8

³² Ibid., p. 18

education topics such as the rule of law. In the second phase of the project, May 1993 to April 1994, the project focused on strengthening existing NGOs and developing networks within the NGO sector, as well as continuing civic education workshops and seminars across the country. In the third phase, which ended in March 1997, IFES fostered the establishment of CENTRAS, an independent Romanian NGO, to take over its activities and promote legislation and policy in support of the NGO sector. By the time CENTRAS was established, the project had shifted its focus from civic education to broader civil society support. USAID provided a total of \$934,000 over the life of the project (1992-1997). The project also benefited from considerable in-kind contributions by IFES and Vocea Civica staff, and supporters.

Problem addressed

Following the overthrow of the Ceausescus in December 1989, Romania entered a period of political and social turmoil, as it struggled to break the authoritarian patterns of the former regime and establish democratic institutions. After decades of repressive communist governments, Romanians had little knowledge or understanding of democratic principles. New political parties and civic organizations proliferated, but most of these organizations were weak and unfocused. Most Romanians mistrusted the political system and were afraid to become politically active themselves. The Vocea Civica project was conceived as a means of promoting the development of the civil society sector in order to strengthen Romania's democracy. This was done in two ways: first, by providing education about democratic principles and practices to potential leaders and to the public. Second, Vocea Civica sought to create new NGOs and enhance the capacity of existing ones. In particular, the program worked to develop an ongoing dialogue between NGOs and policy and lawmakers.

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

In its proposal to USAID, IFES described a training of trainers (TOT) program for civic

education. By the time the project started, it had revised that approach to include a stronger element of support for civic organizations. Response to the project was much better than either IFES or USAID had predicted, leading IFES to expand its goals and seek support for the NGO sector as a whole.

The mission of the original civic education project was "to create a non-partisan, pluralistic Civic Education Resource and Training Center as a primary resource for civic education programs throughout Romania and sustainable for the long term, so that a growing number of citizens could take an active role in the advancement of democracy in Romania."³³

Goals of the project included:

1. Creating a network of committed civic education providers throughout Romania
2. Linking the network through regular communications, including a newsletter and electronic communications
3. Serving as a clearing house for coordination of civic education activities in Romania
4. Hosting major seminars for civic leaders at various locations in Romania
5. Assisting civic leaders/educators to organize local workshops and public fora set in their cities of residence
6. Supplying educational materials, including books and videos, translated into Romanian, to organizations committed to civic education
7. Providing technical and organizational assistance to civic leaders/educators in

³³ International Foundation for Electoral Systems, "The Civic Education Project in Romania," 1993, p.1

developing comprehensive, sustainable, local civic education programs³⁴

Based on feedback from NGOs, government representatives, journalists and others, IFES adjusted its program to place higher priority on assistance to the NGO sector than on civic education per se. By 1997, CENTRAS, the organization established to carry on the grant activities, defined its mission as contributing “to the establishment of a democratic Romania through the development of a viable civil society. A developed and active civil society serves as an important deterrence against the return to a state controlled economy and an autocratic form of government as well as facilitates [sic] a decentralized distribution of power.” In order to accomplish this goal, CENTRAS would :

- Foster and assist emerging NGOs, analyzing their needs.
- Educate leaders and decision makers in public administration on civil society issues.
- Advocate change in public policy according to the needs perceived.
- Contribute to the civic and democratic education of the general public.³⁵

Local partners

IFES collaborated with a wide range of local organizations through the Civic Education project, but did not establish formal partnerships with any of them. This was a deliberate choice on the part of IFES, as it wanted Vocea Civica to be perceived as non-partisan and inclusive. For the civic education seminars, IFES located either a local NGO or a civic leader to select participants and issue invitations, while IFES retained control over the logistics and the trainers. IFES frequently cooperated with two prominent Romanian organizations, the ProDemocracy Association and the League for

the Defense of Human Rights, in organizing the civic education seminars. Once CENTRAS was established, IFES gradually transferred responsibility to CENTRAS for its activities, such as the annual NGO forum. IFES also provided CENTRAS with a \$25,000 sub-grant for its first year of operation.

Target audience

Vocea Civica initially targeted both potential civic leaders and NGOs; as the project progressed, NGOs became the primary audience.

Program description

Shortly after opening an office in Bucharest in 1992, Vocea Civica organized its first conference, also in Bucharest, and initiated a series of consultations with NGOs and civic leaders from various parts of the country. As a result of these meetings, Vocea Civica decided that it would initially pay special attention to areas outside of Bucharest, but that it would identify and work in areas where there were signs of organized civic activity. During the first year, Vocea Civica held several seminars on civic topics, including the rule of law, the constitution, economic development, and the role of an objective media. As well as discussing the specific topics, the seminars put forward the advantages of organized civic action through NGOs. Through an agreement with Houghton-Mifflin Publishers and support from the Soros Foundation for an Open Society, the project distributed 15,000 books on a variety of topics related to political and economic development. At the same time, IFES began assembling a database of active NGOs and donors.

In the second year of the project, Vocea Civica intensified its efforts to create a network of NGOs and to provide technical assistance and information to the NGO sector. In addition to continuing the civic education seminars, Vocea Civica held an NGO forum, the first time a national gathering for NGOs had taken place. Over 130 people participated from approximately 65 NGOs involved in public-policy issues, along with a number of government officials, media representatives,

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 1-2

³⁵ Micescu, p. 37

international donors and others. The Forum provided training and produced needs assessments for the NGOs in six areas: civic/political, human rights, youth, environment, media and business/economic. The Forum generated considerable coverage by the Romanian print and broadcast media, raising the visibility of the NGO sector. In addition, Vocea Civica created a Resource Center with materials in both Romanian and English on topics relating both to civic education and to the development of the NGO sector, e.g. non-profit marketing and management.

In the third phase of the project, Vocea Civica broadened its activities to include legislative work as well as extending its reach to a new category of NGOs dealing with gender. The project continued to organize civic education seminars in more remote regions of the country with a weaker NGO sector. It began publication of a bi-monthly magazine for NGOs and created a network of resource centers in 11 cities around Romania. The NGO Fora became annual events. CENTRAS was officially registered in 1995, and following the 1995 NGO forum, it established a working group seeking to amend the 1924 NGO law. CENTRAS itself organized the 1996 Forum which resulted in the creation of two new legislative working groups as well as the designation of NGO representatives to the Inter-Ministry Working Group. The 1997 Forum led to a joint project by CENTRAS and the Institute for East-West Studies to encourage cooperation among local government, the private sector, and the NGO sector.

Outputs and results

The Vocea Civica project produced approximately 30 seminars on civic education and NGO related topics, as well as 4 national NGO Fora. Several issues of a quarterly newsletter and magazine were published, and a national Resource Center for NGOs was established. The project directly led to the establishment of a Romanian NGO which continued to function after the end of the grant period and which established an NGO resource network in 11 Romanian cities.

Vocea Civica appears to have had a catalytic effect on the NGO sector. While it is difficult to establish attribution conclusively, the project appears to have created a network of NGOs that is better equipped and more highly mobilized to advance the interests of NGOs. In addition, NGOs that had formerly shunned involvement in policy-making or legislative development as overly political have since changed their positions. It is also noteworthy that the project has left behind an umbrella NGO, CENTRAS, which appears to be sustainable. There is presumably some impact on civic education from these activities as many of the NGOs in the network, CENTRAS included, seek to inform citizens about their rights and responsibilities.

Some of the civic education seminars conducted by the program appear to have had more direct civic education impacts. IFES reports that new Romanian NGOs, such as the ProDemocracy Association or the Society of the Young Generation of Roma, adopted the model of the Vocea Civica seminars and offered similar seminars themselves. In addition, some seminars seem to have had an immediate impact. At the conclusion of one seminar held in Baia-Mare, the participants planned and held a public rally to publicize the environmental hazards caused by polluting factories in the region. Following another seminar, participants created a civic committee that proposed a compromise to resolve a conflict between the mayor of the town and the curators of a museum located there. IFES encouraged these short-term, limited projects in the belief that the experience of successful cooperation would pave the way for more ambitious efforts.

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

One of the advantages the Vocea Civica project enjoyed was that it lasted five years, longer than many other democracy and governance programs. The duration of the project gave IFES the opportunity to train and develop its Romanian staff to the point that they were capable of managing CENTRAS independently after the grant ended. It also enabled the project to build close relationships with important organizations and institutions. Another

successful element of the program was its ability to offer the Romanians new ideas and new opportunities while at the same time being responsive to their interests and needs. As noted above, Vocea Civica adapted its goals over time to accommodate Romanian interest in bolstering the NGO sector as a whole. As the project matured, it became more responsive to Romanian direction. Vocea Civica also made a point of presenting a broad range of materials on civic issues, even including provocative documents. In doing so, it hoped to show the Romanian participants that they did not have to accept what was presented to them, that discussing issues and disagreeing about them was part of the democratic process.

Vocea Civica mixed both theoretical information about democracy with strategies for practical applications of democratic skills. This mixture worked well in the Romanian setting. First, Romanians were mostly literate and were used to theoretical presentations. Second, they were eager for knowledge about democracy, as this was the first political opening most had experienced in their lifetimes. Third, most had no practical experience with democratic processes. In fact, some of those best prepared to be civic leaders considered practical pursuits, such as political activity, beneath them. Vocea Civica provided enough sophisticated material to satisfy the intellectuals, while also offering them opportunities for democratic participation in their own communities.

F. Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights and Peace (IPEDEHP)—Human Rights Education to Combat Violence and Abuses³⁶

Basic data: cost, duration, country, implementer, etc.

The Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights and Peace (IPEDEHP) was established in 1985 by a group of educators to defend the

rights of Peruvian citizens. Initially the group decided that teaching teachers would be the most effective way for it to combat the violence and massive human rights violations taking place in Peru. IPEDEHP has trained over 13,000 teachers and has developed a cadre of 250 teachers qualified to train others in human rights and democracy. In 1996, IPEDEHP decided to extend its program to community leaders. With a grant of \$400,000 from USAID, IPEDEHP designed a course in human rights, democracy, and citizen participation entitled “*You Have Rights, Know Them, Defend Them, Promote Them.*” The grant ran for two and a half years and covered salaries of participating staff, materials development and reproduction, operational costs, support for follow-up sessions at the departmental level and local counterpart organizations, annual meeting expenses, and dissemination of materials. In 1999, USAID signed a grant with IPEDEHP to extend the program.

Problem addressed

Peru suffered through a period of economic and political turmoil in the 1980s and early 1990s. Terrorist groups and narco-traffickers committed widespread acts of violence. The military brutalized the countryside in trying to combat the terrorists and narco-traffickers. A severe economic decline further eroded living conditions. Responding to the violence, in the mid-1980s a number of civil society organizations coalesced to promote human rights. IPEDEHP was one of these organizations. IPEDEHP’s founding members were all educators active in human rights through affiliation with Amnesty International. They believed that IPEDEHP could:

- Work with teachers to educate people about their rights. Through their influence over children, young people, and their families, teachers would be able to disseminate human rights information very broadly.
- Combat the terrorists in the schools by presenting an alternative ideology and a non-violent approach.

³⁶ This case study is based on Bernbaum’s analysis of IPEDEHP.

- Take advantage of the educational background of the founders to change teacher behavior in the classroom to be more democratic and respectful of the rights of the students.

At the time of the USAID grant, ten years later, conditions in Peru had greatly improved; however, Peruvian citizens still suffered from abuses, particularly within the criminal justice system, and many were still ignorant of their rights. By expanding its activities to reach community leaders, IPEDEHP hoped to improve the human rights of a wider cross section of Peruvian citizens and to further its own efforts to rebuild the social trust networks destroyed by the violence.

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

The project had three goals:

1. Raise consciousness of the importance of citizen participation from a human rights and democracy perspective among individuals throughout Peru.
2. Train community leaders from diverse regions and socio-economic levels in Peru to become human rights promoters in their communities.
3. Promote the newly established Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman as an entity that could help Peruvian citizens to defend their rights.

Local partners

The USAID program is a joint effort with the National Human Rights Coordinator (NHRC), a coalition of 50 human rights NGOs in Peru, and the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman (OHRO). When USAID gave the grant to IPEDEHP, it insisted that a government agency be part of the grant. IPEDEHP originally chose the Human Rights Commission of the National Congress as its partner, but later substituted the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman. In each locality where a training takes place,

IPEDEHP identifies a counterpart organization with which it signs an agreement. The local organization is responsible for finding a training site, identifying participants, and carrying out follow-up activities with the participants.

Target audience

For the USAID program there is a dual audience. The primary target is the community leaders who participate in the training sessions: lawyers, teachers and professors, social workers, salespeople, homemakers, and local officials. A secondary target is the local counterpart organizations, which IPEDEHP hopes to strengthen through their participation in IPEDEHP activities.

Program description

The centerpiece of the community leaders training is an informal, interactive workshop for three days. As noted above, prior to undertaking a training course in a particular locality, IPEDEHP selects a local partner organization. The partner organization is responsible for managing the course, including selecting community leaders to participate. The participants are a heterogeneous group selected on the basis of their status as leaders and their commitment to actively disseminate the methods and information they learn from the training.

The course itself takes place in a regional center and lasts for three days. The first day and a half is devoted to human rights, the second half of the second day is devoted to democracy, and the third day is devoted to preparing a plan to implement activities relating to human rights and democracy in the participants communities. Participants play games, engage in role-plays, compose and sing songs, and read and discuss documents. Participants spend very little time sitting in their chairs and listening to lectures. During the course presentations are made by the NHRC and the OHRO informing the participants how to access the services provided by these organizations and encouraging them to do so. IPEDEHP courses stress values and participant self-esteem as key themes, rather than the legal aspects of human rights.

Each workshop is arranged to maximize interaction between participants, and to encourage participants to apply the information provided to their daily lives. The workshops stress the importance of the individual as a thinking and feeling being and give special emphasis to the emotional aspects of the participants' experiences. For example, during the workshop participants play games that require them to remember a childhood incident that made them cry, or a time they were afraid because of terrorist activity. After each exercise, participants are asked how they felt during the activity.

Participants in the course receive a set of materials to use during the course and to take with them afterwards. These include:

- “Carpeta”—A set of handouts explaining human rights, citing the major human rights documents, explaining what do when rights are violated, and providing contact information for human rights organizations.
- A methodological guide which explains how to replicate the training or parts of the training
- Copies of two games—one dealing with human rights, one dealing with democracy—that the participants play during the workshop and can repeat in their own communities
- A copy of seven principles for education in human rights that IPEDEHP has developed.

After finishing the course, the participants are offered ongoing support. Many of the counterpart organizations arrange for meetings between graduates of the course, supply materials from IPEDEHP, and make available other forms of technical assistance. Some counterpart organizations provide limited financial support. Three months after the training course, one of the IPEDEHP trainers returns to the region to meet with the graduates and review their progress in fulfilling the plans they developed during the workshop. Once a year an IPEDEHP trainer meets with the course

graduates, and in some cases with those they have trained, to evaluate the progress made in each Department. At this meeting, the delegates to the IPEDEHP annual meeting in Lima are chosen. Representatives from the counterpart organization participate in all the meetings. At the annual meeting in Lima, participants exchange information, participate in new exercises, and plan activities for the following year. At the annual meeting in 1998, IPEDEHP formed a National Community Leaders Human Rights Network, which has been followed by the formation of several similar networks at the departmental level. IPEDEHP has also published a bulletin aimed at graduates of the community leaders' workshops.

Outputs and results

As of November 1998, almost 900 community leaders from 11 Departments of Peru had taken courses. Evaluations completed by participants showed a significant increase in human rights knowledge among participants, and over half of those trained by IPEDEHP reported that they had engaged in follow-up activities. It is difficult to attribute results solely to the IPEDEHP course as many of the participants had prior experience with human rights; however, IPEDEHP records show that graduates from the course engaged in a variety of activities including:

- Conducting training courses and workshops using IPEDEHP methodologies
- Making presentations on human rights and democracy
- Establishing Human Rights Committees and Offices for the Defense of Children, Adolescents and Women (DEMUNAS)
- Organizing and participating in radio and television programs on human rights and democracy
- Organizing and participating in courses, demonstrations, theater projects and other events relating to human rights and democracy

- Playing the games from the workshop with family members and others

A 1998 case study on the community leaders training program entitled “Weaving ties of Friendship, Trust, and Commitment to Build Democracy and Human Rights in Peru” found interesting impacts at both the individual and the community level. It should be noted that this information is based on in-depth interviews conducted with 20 graduates of the course, members of their families, and other community members in four locations. The course graduate interviewees were selected specifically because they had applied the lessons of the course in their communities. Thus it is not possible to generalize the results to all the community leaders who participated in the program, as would be the case in a more traditional program evaluation.

Overall, the interviewees reported an increase in self-esteem and self-confidence. This was especially noticeable among the women who participated in the course, many of whom reported that the course was a turning point in their lives. As a corollary, many participants reported lower levels of domestic violence; fewer incidents of men beating women and parents beating children. In keeping with the findings of the course evaluations noted above, interviewees noted that through the course they had acquired new knowledge of human rights and democracy as well as of interactive training methodologies. Many of these results were reinforced at the community level. Interviews with community members trained by the course graduates suggested broader awareness of rights and fewer cases of violence against women. Interviewees also pointed to the establishment of better relations with local authorities and a willingness to confront them on rights violations when necessary, and said that they observed a greater knowledge of and ability to use mechanisms for dealing with rights violations.

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

The IPEDEHP program offers a number of best practices. On a programmatic level, it:

- Integrates education and action and draws heavily on participant experiences and concerns. The use of games, physical movement, and in particular, the emphasis on the affective, serves to establish connections between individuals of different educational, social and economic levels.
- Has a therapeutic element, which helps the participants overcome the impact that violence has had and continues to have on their lives. For this reason it may be particularly valuable in countries that have experienced or are experiencing conflict. .
- Provides participants with a ready to use tool kit, including human rights and democracy games, a methodological guide, a summary of the principles underlying the training methodology, and a set of guidelines outlining what basic human rights are and what steps should be taken when they are violated. Participants are encouraged to adapt the contents of the tool kit to their interests and needs and those of their communities when they return from training.

IPEDEHP has also developed a set of linkages that support the work of the individuals and organizations involved. Graduates of the course meet annually with representatives from IPEDEHP, thus maintaining a connection to a larger national network, as well as receiving support from the local organization that sponsored them. Equally important, IPEDEHP has strong connections with both governmental and non-governmental human rights organizations. The presence of representatives from OHRO at IPEDEHP courses provides participants with direct access to a government body that is specifically charged with protecting human rights. At the same time, the network of human rights NGOs offers participants opportunities for political action at various levels.

Like most NGOs, IPEDEHP faces the challenge of how to support itself. It is currently dependent on external funding, which is often tied to specific projects, making long term planning

difficult. At the local level, IPEDEHP lacks the resources to respond to the high level of interest demonstrated by the community leaders who have taken the course and who wish to do projects in their localities. IPEDEHP's success with the community leaders also raises a question about priorities: should it devote more resources to building this local network and to supporting the efforts of the community leaders, or should it continue to be primarily a human rights and democracy education organization that focuses on the formal education system?

There are other challenges that face IPEDEHP, or any organization following a similar model. It is difficult to ensure that those selected to participate are authentic community leaders and that they will carry on human rights work after they finish the course. IPEDEHP initially worked with the Human Rights Commission of the Peruvian Congress to select the participants, but few of the leaders selected by the Commission remained active with the program. IPEDEHP has had more success with its current strategy of working with local and regional counterpart organizations.

IPEDEHP also faces the risk of raising expectations for results it can not deliver. If it can not find funding to continue the community leaders program, it will not be able to support its own network of activists. In addition, IPEDEHP has been cautious about forming relationships with ministries, for fear of compromising its independence. This cautiousness may hamper its ability to influence the institutions responsible for the human rights abuses. This hazard will face other NGOs attempting to promote human rights and democracy: how to balance between an independent stance and a position in which one can influence powerful state institutions.

G. Street Law – Law, Human Rights, and Democracy Education in a changing South Africa

[To avoid confusion, Street Law SA is used to refer to all the programs that developed under the Street Law umbrella—Street Law, Human Rights for All, and Democracy for All.]

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.

The Street Law program in South Africa grew out of a series of practical law workshops for teachers and students conducted by the head of the U.S. Street Law program and a Natal University Law Professor. In 1986, the Association of Law Societies (ALS) provided funding for a six month pilot Street Law program, based on the U.S. Street Law model, at the University of Natal, Durban. Over the next several years the program spread to several universities with financial support mainly from ALS. Subsequently a variety of donors, including USAID, provided funding. In the late 1980s, Street Law SA added human rights to its legal education program. In 1992, the program set up a national office at the University of Natal, Durban, and in 1993-1994, it added broad-based democracy education. In 1995, Street Law SA split into two organizations: Street Law (the legal education program) and Democracy for All (the democracy education program). Street Law moved to the Community Law Centre at the University of Western Cape and the Democracy for All program stayed at the University of Natal, Durban. In 1998, the programs were again united at the University of Natal, Durban.

USAID has provided considerable funding for Street Law SA. USAID funded the publication of both the *Human Rights for All* manual in 1991 and the *Democracy for All* manual in 1994. USAID continued to support the Street Law SA program through 1998. In 1999, USAID conducted survey research on the impact of Street Law SA civic education programs for students.

Problem addressed

When Street Law first arrived in South Africa, the country was governed by a minority, with a legal system based on distinctions between different racial groups. Although there were signs in the mid 1980's that the apartheid system could not be maintained much longer, whole classes of people were still disenfranchised and subject to repression by the state. Because many

non-white South Africans were poor and uneducated, they were generally unaware of the legal protections that did apply to them. The Street Law South Africa (SA) program was created to address the inequities in the legal system in South Africa and to enable the disadvantaged inhabitants of South Africa to use the legal rights that they did have. Because it was not safe to openly advocate for democratic change in a program aimed primarily at schools, Street Law SA could not address democratic education directly. Instead, Street Law SA implicitly sought to inform participants about the culture of democracy and to prepare them to participate in it, in the expectation that the apartheid system would give way to a democratic regime.

After Nelson Mandela's release from prison, and the government's decision to call for democratic elections with the participation of all South Africans, the Street Law SA program became more explicit in its intent to help South Africans prepare for a democratic political system. In the early 1990s, concerned by popular misconceptions about what democracy would bring to South Africa, Street Law SA introduced material directly dealing with democratic institutions and processes. While other organizations directed their efforts at preparing South Africans for the logistics of voting, Street Law SA sought to make voters aware of what democratic structures are, how they function, and what such structures would mean for South Africa.

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

When it first started, the Street Law SA program focused on educating people about their legal rights. As noted above, from its inception, the Street Law SA program had an implicit goal of promoting democratic change and preparing South Africans to become full participants in a democratic society. A 1989 Street Law SA newsletter stated that "The Street Law programme is aimed at making people more aware of their legal rights. ... Since the programme is implemented on a non-racial basis it has the effect of promoting understanding and

tolerance between the different racial groupings who through legal information get to know the daily predicaments of other fellow South Africans."³⁷

By 1992, the Street Law SA program enunciated its goals as follows:

The objectives of the Street Law programme are:

- to make people aware of their legal rights and how the existing legal system can be used to protect them
- to improve understanding of the principles of democracy, and to help people think about the legal system they would like to have in a new South Africa
- to encourage people to think about the arguments for and against certain laws, and to help them to be tolerant of opposing points of view
- to encourage people to use alternative ways of resolving disputes, such as mediation, arbitration and negotiation, instead of taking the law into their own hands or resorting to violence.³⁸

As a branch of the Street Law SA program, the Democracy for All program focused on traditional, broad-based civic education. The preface to the 1994 *Democracy for All* stated that

Democracy for All is aimed at everyone: young people, adults, students and teachers. It explains what the international community accepts as democracy; how government works in a democracy; how abuse of power is checked in a democracy; how human rights support democracy; how democratic elections take place, and, the

³⁷ "Streetwise," p. 34

³⁸ "Street Law in South Africa 1992"

ways citizens can participate in a democracy.

The aim of this book is to help create a “culture of democracy”: to begin building an understanding of, and concern for, democracy. This task is particularly urgent for South Africa, which has [a] history of intolerance, human rights abuse, and lack of democracy. It is essential that education about democracy be provided to all South Africans: rich and poor, black and white, employed and unemployed, rural and urban. Democracy education must truly be for all.³⁹

In a later description of the Democracy for All program, a more specific set of goals was outlined including establishing a high level of awareness of the principles and functions of democracy; educating people about democracy and how government works in a democratic society; fostering justice, tolerance, and fairness in a democratic society; and, developing basic skills, such as critical thinking and problem solving.

Local partners

Although it adapted the American Street Law program and received ongoing technical assistance from Street Law USA, Street Law SA was an independent organization, directed and administered by South Africans. The materials produced, the *Street Law* books, *Human Rights for All*, and *Democracy for All*, were created with the assistance of South African and American advisory committees to ensure that the essence of the original material was retained and that the manuals were culturally appropriate. *Democracy for All* was prepared in collaboration with the South African NGO Lawyers for Human Rights.

Street Law SA has cooperated with a wide range of non-profit organizations, including training their staffs and members in how to use the Street

Law, Human Rights for All and Democracy for All materials. Street Law SA offices were housed in universities; the main office was established at the University of Natal, Durban, at the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies (CSLS). Street Law SA also worked with local and national offices of the Department of Education to incorporate democracy and human rights education into formal school curricula. Through the National Forum for Democracy and Human Rights Education, Democracy for All is currently working with a group of NGOs and the South African Human Rights Commission.

USAID has provided grants for Street Law SA activities to the Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape and to CSLS.

Target audience

The main audience for Street Law SA is young people in high schools who receive in-school training from the program. Street Law SA has expanded to work in prisons, community centers, trade unions and other locations. The program has also created a cadre of trainers incorporating both volunteers and professionals

Program description

The core of the Street Law SA program is a highly participatory approach to teaching legal issues, human rights, and democracy using a series of special manuals. Street Law SA coordinators train trainers, including law students (primarily for the Street Law programs) university students, school teachers, community based trainers, and educators. Those trained then train other trainers as well as teaching the materials in informal classroom sessions, prisons, churches, and elsewhere. The trainers do not have to have a technical background in the subject matter; the material is designed so that it can be taught by those with a general education. Each of the topic areas (law, human rights, and democracy) has an accompanying student manual, which defines basic concepts, gives examples, and provides opportunities for interactive classroom activities. There is also a teacher’s manual. Techniques used by the program include: case studies, role playing,

³⁹ McQuoid-Mason *et al*, 1994, p. v

debates, field trips, games, group discussions, mock trials, opinion polls, ranking exercises, and participant presentations.

In addition to the training of trainers and the classroom sessions, Street Law SA has engaged in a variety of activities to draw attention to democracy and human rights issues. It has produced a variety of publications, including *Streetwise* magazine, which featured comic strips. A TV show was created in 1991 around the character of Max Mboya the Street Lawyer, who was based on a fictional character featured in the magazine. Street Law SA has run training programs for community radio producers to help them develop programming on human rights issues. For several years, Street Law SA held two annual, national events. The first was a Mock Trial competition in which teams of students were given a legal problem and required to present cases for the prosecution and the defense before a panel of judges or attorneys. The second project was the “Space Colony Project” which involved an imaginary scenario in which the students were called upon to negotiate and ratify a constitution for a space colony (based on the political situation in South Africa) just gaining independence from Earth.

The Democracy for All program has consistently worked with the schools and the Department of Education to develop democracy and human rights education for the primary and secondary schools. Together with a group of NGOs and the South African Human Rights Commission, Democracy for All has established the National Forum for Democracy and Human Rights Education which lobbies for the inclusion of democracy and human rights education in the new curriculum the government is developing.

Outputs and results

The Street Law SA program has produced numerous programs, publications and other products in the almost 15 years it has been in existence. The following list gives an indication of the outputs of the program:

1. Programs: In 1996, Street Law operated out of 20 universities, with a presence in each of

South Africa’s provinces. It trained 240,000 students using 15,750 trainers. In the first quarter of 1998, CSLS used the Democracy for All materials to train 425 trainers including volunteer students; professional educators; primary, secondary, and high school teachers; and, trainers based in communities. CSLS trainers reached 4,175 high school pupils and another 1500 participants in prisons, communities, unions, and various professions. In 1997 and 1996, the program trained a total of 21,877 and 16,180 participants, respectively.

2. Publications: In addition to the three manuals (*Street Law*—which comprised several volumes dealing with different legal topics, *Human Rights for All*, and *Democracy for All*) Street Law SA has published a magazine, newsletters, information bulletins, advice columns in mainstream publications, newspaper advertisements, a board game called Signposts of Democracy, brochures, and posters. Street Law SA has also used the broadcast media extensively including radio announcements, a television show, and programs for community radio.
3. Special events: From 1989 to 1995, Street Law SA held an annual Space Colony event involving students from all over the country. In 1995, this event was changed to the National Youth Parliament and it continues to take place with the assistance of the Public Education Department of the National Parliament. A “Green Street Law” program merging wilderness training with legal education was developed with the Wilderness Leadership School. A Street Law play presenting a case of juvenile arrest was developed by a South African organization and presented in Natal. Street Law SA has also run camps for young people, organized mock trials, arranged film and music festivals, and conducted competitions for art projects on the theme of human rights.

A study of the impact of the Street Law SA programs on individual participants is underway

at the time of this writing (fall 1999). If one can use organizational success as a proxy measure of impact, then Street Law SA has had a high level of impact. It is widespread and well known in South Africa. It has been funded by and continues to receive funding from a number of donors, both foundations and governments. A number of NGOs use materials published by Street Law SA in their civic education programs and elements of Street Law, Human Rights for All, and Democracy for All have been taught in the schools for many years.

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

Street Law SA was very successful in modifying its tactics, while maintaining its long-term strategy, as South Africa moved from an apartheid regime to a democratically elected government. During this turbulent period, Street Law was able to gauge its environment and design its activities accordingly. Although the program always viewed promotion of democracy as its long-term goal, it initially focused on legal education as a less threatening, and therefore less dangerous, means of communicating democratic values. As the political environment in South Africa became more open, Street Law became more explicit in its advocacy on behalf of democracy. Street Law also used a series of high visibility activities and projects, such as the annual Space Colony Project, the cartoon and television character Max Mboya, and the radio announcements, to draw attention to its activities. Last but not least, Street Law benefited from the active civil society sector in South Africa. For example, following the 1994 elections, Street Law trained many of the NGO staff and community workers who had engaged in voter education activities to train teachers in the Democracy for All approach.

The Street Law model has a number of other characteristics which are worth noting. First, it is based on a highly interactive manual which offers many different learning experiences, e.g. role plays, simulations, small discussion groups etc. The variety of techniques used engages students and the interactive methods encourage them to apply the principles under study to

themselves. Secondly, the manuals are meant to be adapted to conditions in the country of use. The parent organization, Street Law USA, encourages this process and treats the national organizations as partners rather than subsidiaries. Thus there is a high degree of local control over what material is presented and how, while ensuring that the fundamentals are preserved.

H. Vklouchis—Engaging young people in the political process

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.

In 1994, President Yeltsin issued Presidential Decree No. 558 on Increasing the Legal Culture of Voters. The decree required election commissions at all levels to undertake voter education programs. In response, the Central Election Commission (CEC) of the Russian Federation created a comprehensive program for voter education and assembled a working group to implement the program. The discussions of the working group led to a joint proposal to USAID by the CEC and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) to conduct a voter education program, *Vklouchis* (Russian for “plugged in”) for young people. The program was based on the American youth voter education program “Rock the Vote”, and was meant to overcome voter apathy as well as providing young people with basic information on voting. The proposal requested approximately \$2.5 million for twelve months; USAID ultimately provided partial funding for the program which ran in 1995-1996, in the midst of preparations for national parliamentary, presidential, and provincial elections. The program was implemented by the New Perspectives Foundation (NPF), an independent Russian NGO formed for the purpose of educating and mobilizing Russian citizens to engage in political and electoral processes, with an emphasis on youth. (NPF has survived beyond the grant’s end and continues to engage in voter education and other activities.)

Problem addressed

The 1995 proposal for *Vkloochis* stated the problem as follows:

In the Russian Federation, those recent days of optimism seem decades ago, elation has been supplanted by skepticism. As elections in Russia and the successor states approach and pass, fewer citizens of the new democracy travel to the polls. Of those who vote, many desire a return to socialism and cast their ballots for old familiar faces...

Today, many regional elections cannot even draw the legal minimum of qualified voters to the polls--25 percent--and the process, expensive and exhausting as it is, must be repeated over and over again.

Clearly absent at the polls are the dedicated, forward-looking, motivated voters still hoping for change, represented in Russia's youth.⁴⁰

The proposal pointed to the downward trend in voting rates as a threat to Russia's democracy and underlined the need for Russia's voters to be taught their rights and responsibilities as citizens of a democracy. In particular, it emphasized the role that young voters could play in creating a sustainable democracy in Russia, and the need to reach out to this group.

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

Vkloochis aimed to increase young voters' understanding of, participation in, and confidence in Russia's new election process. The project was carried out by a series of clubs and organizations across Russia. The groups had the following objectives:

- To attract the general electorate, especially young and first time voters and women, to the polls for regional and municipal elections
- To improve the civic culture of young voters and motivate them to take a more active and informed role in public life
- To demonstrate to a broader citizenry that young people can play a constructive role in democratic political processes and to serve as a role model for youth who have yet to engage in public life⁴¹

Local partners

Vkloochis was a cooperative effort between IFES, NPF, and the CEC. It was implemented by roughly 40 organizations with various degrees of affiliation with NPF. Some of the organizations were members, some were partners, and some were affiliates. *Vkloochis* also obtained sponsorships from private corporations for some of its activities.

Target audience

The primary audience for *Vkloochis* was young voters (18 and up).

Program Description

Vkloochis was essentially a vast public information campaign carried out across Russia by a network of organizations for young people. It was based on the "Rock the Vote" campaign led by MTV and the recording industry in the United States. The centerpiece of both programs was the use of entertainment and lively materials to engage young people. *Vkloochis* had three main elements:

- **Television programming:** In November and December 1995, Russia's main largest television station ran a 4-part program entitled *Arbat Parliament* for *Vkloochis*. The

⁴⁰ International Foundation for Electoral Assistance, "The Power of Youth: Creating a Sustainable Russian Democracy," pp. 3-4

⁴¹ "IFES Moscow Special Report: Youth Voter Clubs Active in Regional and Municipal Elections"

program was set in the heart of Moscow and featured live concerts, interviews with prominent politicians, election officials, and young people. Each episode also highlighted topics of interest to young people such as the military, economic conditions, and crime. Similar programming at the regional and local level followed the national television program. These programs combined a live audience of young people, a question and answer format, and musical performances.

- **Special Events:** Organizations participating in *Vkloochis* have organized a variety of special events including: rock concerts, special disco and club nights, college campus rallies, cookouts, and mock elections. They have used these events to recruit young people. Young people attending the events are asked to sign pledge cards indicating their intent to join the *Vkloochis* movement, to become informed about issues and candidates in upcoming elections, and to vote. From the cards, the participating organizations compiled a database, which NPF then used as an invitation list for future events.
- **Printed Materials and Specialty Items:** Most of the voter information materials in Russia were produced by the Russian Government, in which case they were very general and bland, or by political parties, in which case they were partisan. *Vkloochis* featured materials that were designed to provide information to new voters and to promote youth voting, such as booklets, voters' guides, leaflets, cartoons, posters, T-shirts, stickers, and pins. Most of the materials were produced at the regional level and often reflected local issues or conditions. For example, posters in Valdivostok urged young people to vote by referring to the urgent energy crisis in the region. At least one *Vkloochis* club, in Samara, sponsored a contest for the best poster design on a get-out-the-vote theme.

Outputs and results

No cumulative results for *Vkloochis* were available for this case study. Thousands of young people were involved in activities ranging from mock elections to concerts. Over 36,000 get-out-the-vote posters were distributed, along with stickers, T-shirts and other election-related materials. A number of organizations held mock-elections; in a few instances the winner of the mock election met with the official actually holding the position. In one sophisticated example, the *Vkloochis* Club in Tyumen held a mock election in which each of five universities put forward competing candidates. The students followed every step of an actual campaign from nominating candidates to announcing the results of the elections. It is notable that almost all of those involved in *Vkloochis* activities were volunteers. Given the economic pressures on young people, and the stigma attached to volunteering due to the compulsory volunteerism of the Soviet system, this was an accomplishment in and of itself.

It is difficult to prove that *Vkloochis* activities positively affected youth voting rates, but many of the districts where *Vkloochis* was active reported relatively high levels of young people voting; it is possible that *Vkloochis* contributed. In one location, Volgograd, the Chairman of the provincial Election Commission stated that *Vkloochis* efforts were instrumental in obtaining a high overall voting turnout.

On another level, the impact of *Vkloochis* is demonstrated by the Yeltsin campaign's decision to launch a major youth-oriented voter education program that copied many of the elements of *Vkloochis*. *Vkloochis* both acted as a model for voter education programs for young people in Russia (and elsewhere in the region) and also introduced the idea that engaging young people in elections, and in the broader political process, was a valid and important activity.

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

Vkloochis benefited from the political opportunity afforded by Presidential Decree No. 558, requiring the Russian election commissions to engage in voter education. From the beginning, a government institution, the CEC, was an active partner in the project. The government's participation was beneficial for several reasons. First, the project received funding from the government. Second, *Vkloochis* had access to the resources controlled by the government, e.g. media outlets. Third, the close relationship with the commissions facilitated *Vkloochis*' task of providing information about the elections. Although *Vkloochis* did face challenges to its non-partisan position, the challenges did not arise from its relationships with the commissions. Some of these challenges resulted from the perceived success of *Vkloochis*, e.g. the program initiated by the Yeltsin campaign.

The widespread, loosely organized network that implemented the *Vkloochis* activities was both an asset and a liability. On the asset side, the network enabled *Vkloochis* to penetrate vast areas of the country, to mount hundreds of activities and mobilize thousands of people, and to have a channel for continuous feedback from its target audience. On the liability side, it was difficult for the central office to manage such a far-flung program covering largely autonomous branches claiming differing degrees of affiliation.

Judging by the popularity of the *Vkloochis* activities, the combination of education and entertainment that *Vkloochis* employed was successful in reaching young audiences. The danger of this approach is that the entertainment may overwhelm the education being provided. The feedback *Vkloochis* gathered after the television show *Arbat Parliament* suggested that the message of the show had been diluted to some extent. To some extent, this weakening of the message may be an unavoidable tradeoff in the effort to generate programs that entice young people.

Another tactic that characterized the *Vkloochis* approach was the combination of direct and indirect methods of providing information. Previous studies have shown that indirect methods of voter education raise voter awareness but do not necessarily motivate voters to participate. Direct methods are much more likely to mobilize people. *Vkloochis* used both media and print campaigns, i.e. indirect methods, and mock elections and other events, i.e. direct methods, to both provide information and promote participation.

I. Inter-American Democracy Network— A North-South network of NGOs building capacity for civic education within the LAC region⁴²

Basic Data: cost, duration, country, implementer etc.

The Inter-American Democracy Network grew out of the work Partners of the Americas (POA) had done under its USAID funded Democracy Initiatives (DI) Project in the LAC region. The DI project started in 1993 and its goal was to promote democratic skills and values and increase citizen participation in the governance process. The three main elements of the project were: education in democracy and civic arts for young people and adults; technical assistance to strengthen civic organizations; and, strategies to increase women's participation in public life. In 1995, the grant was amended to create the Inter-American Democracy Network, a group of four Latin American civil society organizations and a university, plus Partners. The five Latin American organizations had met at a Kettering Foundation meeting and had developed the idea

⁴² USAID has conducted an evaluation of the Inter-American Democracy Network, which will be completed in 1999; preliminary data from that evaluation have been used in this analysis. See "Participatory Evaluation of the Partners of the Americas Grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development, focusing on the Inter-American Democracy Network, Executive Summary."

of creating a Latin American network. USAID used the original grant to facilitate this work and extended it until 2000. USAID also amended the grant to have POA provide capacity building assistance to the Guatemalan NGO Accion Ciudadana, and to undertake an initiative to link Cuban NGOs and counterpart institutions in the Americas. As of September 1998, the total budget for the grant came to \$7,182,000.

Problem addressed

Following the numerous democratic transitions that took place in Latin America in the 1980s, many countries had new democratic governments that were somewhat fragile. As the 1995 POA proposal points out, many Latin American citizens lacked knowledge of or experience in civic life. They were not familiar with their countries' laws, or their government structures, or their own legal rights. Their countries did not have a democratic political culture based on internalization of democratic values and acquisition of democratic knowledge and skills, nor did they possess an effective network of civic organizations in which citizens could both learn and practice democratic processes and means of influencing government policy. When the Latin American organizations approached USAID with the idea of creating a Latin American network of civil society organizations, USAID saw this as an opportunity to strengthen civil society in the region. Initially, the organizations had proposed that one of them become the grant recipient, but USAID chose to work through the existing grant with Partners of the Americas.

Project (or civic education component) goals/purpose

In March 1997, the Network enunciated the following statements of its mission and vision:

Mission: To establish a Network of organizations in the Americas which are dedicated to strengthening democracy and civic participation, to be brought about through timely and necessary actions involving training, education, technical assistance, communication, and exchange of resources.

Vision: To be the Inter-American Network recognized for its commitment to strengthening democracy through citizen participation, which is promoted by 1) education and training for citizen learning, and 2) the development and coordination of initiatives and actions taken by Civil Society.⁴³

Local partners

The IADN proposed to use the five lead NGOs (known as the Founding Members) to act as mentors and trainers to 20 target NGOs (Associate Members) which would, in turn train an additional 60 local NGOs. As the project developed, POA found that many of the Associate Members were not able to train other NGOs. The IADN moved to a looser structure. Associate Members were identified as organizations that have agreements with Founding Members to cooperate with over an extended period and to adapt the approaches and methodologies employed by the Network. Other organizations did not have special status within the network, but were able to receive information through the network and to participate in Network activities. This change also facilitated more direct contact between Founding Members and other NGOs at various stages of development.

The six Founding Members are: Instituto de Investigacion y Autoformacion Politica (INIAP) from Guatemala, Asociacion Conciencia (Conciencia) from Argentina, Corporacion Participa (Participa) from Chile, Fundacion Poder Ciudadano (Poder Ciudadano) from Argentina, and Departamento de Ciencias Politicas de la Universidad de los Andes (DECIPOLUNIANDES) from Colombia, and Partners of the Americas (POA). POA is responsible for coordination of program planning and implementation, and funds management, but all other program responsibilities are shared between the Founding Members. Each of the Latin American Founding

⁴³ Partners of the Americas, "Inter-American Democracy Network--Description as of September 1997," p.2

Members has considerable experience and visibility promoting civic participation and democratic culture in its own country.

The Associate Members were to be selected by the Founding NGOs based on the following criteria: capacity and commitment to serve as vehicles for regional outreach; track record and potential to grow in one or more of the key work areas; voluntary commitment of a key staff person or organizational leader to participate in the regional network; desire to reach a greater percentage of the public through citizen participation efforts; and, ability to monitor and evaluate the results of their citizen participation projects in order to develop model programs for replication. In practice, the criteria applied to the Associate Members varied from organization to organization.

Although not a “local” partner, the Kettering Foundation played an important role in initiating cooperation between the five Latin American Founding Members (prior to the USAID grant as well as later) and in providing the deliberative model of civic education used by many of the organizations in the Network. Both the Kettering Foundation and USAID are considered to be “Cooperating Members.”

Target audience

Initially, the project set the Associate NGOs as the primary targets, and the individuals being trained by the NGOs as the secondary targets. As the project developed, it placed more emphasis on increasing the capacity of the Founding Members as well as the Associate Members.

Program description

The program was designed to use South-South technical assistance as its main mechanism, with the Founding Members each training four NGOs who would then train other local NGOs. This approach was modified to develop a more horizontal structure in which the Founding Members worked directly with all the organizations and provided most of the training. Recently, the Founding Members have begun to

distribute a number of small grants to Associate Members as these organizations have been trained and have initiated their own activities. These grants were matched by funds from Partners of the Americas. In addition to the capacity building activities focused on NGOs, members of the network organized public fora on a variety of issues including corruption, women’s rights, public safety, the high cost of living and the rights and responsibilities of children.

Between 1995 and 1997, the Founding Members developed agreements for training and technical assistance with approximately 35 NGOs. At the same time, the Founding Members defined six program elements for the Network and established objectives in each one:

1. Deliberation for Citizen Participation
2. Citizen Participation at Local Levels
3. Civic Education
4. Voter Education
5. Social Responsibility
6. Capacity Building

The main activities undertaken by the members of the IADN include training NGOs in deliberative methods for civic education; sponsoring regional workshops on democracy and civic education for NGOs, academics, and government officials; hosting workshops at the local or national level on specific political/social issues; working with the media to increase coverage of civic issues and promote civic journalism; developing curricula for civic education in the school system; fostering government-community partnerships; advising NGOs on organizational development; and, creating civic education materials for distribution.

IADN has also actively sought collaboration with other civil society organizations outside its network. For example, prior to the Santiago Summit of the Americas, IADN worked with other civil society organizations to ensure that the agenda incorporated issues that concerned these organizations, such as democracy education. Members of the Network also worked

with the Organization of America States' Unit on Democracy and the Inter-American Development Bank's Civil Society Strategy group to make sure that the civil society documents issuing from the Summit accurately reflected civil society interests.

Outputs and results

The IADN has worked with over 150 civil society organizations. Over 7,000 people have attended deliberation and civic education events and over 250 national issues forums have taken place. According to the Founding Members, over 40 of these organizations are using methodologies and approaches that the Founding Members introduced and are themselves promoting civic activism. Over half of the Network's activities have revolved around deliberation, the first program element discussed above, and many of the Associate Members have adapted and are implementing this model for civic education. The IADN has recently set up a Web Page to facilitate exchange of information among its members and to disseminate information about the IADN within the region. Members of the network have trained hundreds of civic education trainers and developed civic education issue guides, civic education curricula, and other materials. Smaller networks uniting organizations in several countries have emerged from the work of the Founding Members.

There is a lack of reliable data on the impact IADN has had on its member organizations and the individuals it has trained, in part because Network members have been unable to integrate assessment activities into their programming. Partners of the Americas has worked to strengthen the ability of the Network to collect impact information, but it is too early to obtain the results of these efforts. In addition, the task of measuring impact has been made more difficult by the emphasis the Network places on process. Since much of its activity is directed at strengthening the ways in which the organizations cooperate, there are fewer

examples of concrete results than might be expected.

There are reports of some instances where activity supported by the Network has led to other activities and initiatives. For example, Conciencia conducted a survey of the seven organizations that had attended a May 1998 course on Civic and Ethics education. All but one of the organizations had used the material in some way. Most had shared the information with teachers and others within the school system; some had shared the information with their local governments. In early 1999, INIAP reported that the organizations in Central America felt they had reached the stage where they themselves could use the participatory methods to promote citizen participation. In another example, Voto Consciente, a Brazilian organization that works with Conciencia, reported that as a result of having participated in forums on public safety, citizens in the city of Paraisopolis were beginning a community dialogue on the problems of litter and solid waste disposal.

An interesting initiative has taken place in Colombia. With the support of the Fundacion Corona, UNIANDES and El Tiempo, Colombia's largest daily newspaper, have undertaken a joint campaign to fight voter apathy and encourage citizen participation. Prior to the 1997 municipal elections, El Tiempo conducted a series of surveys asking readers to rank issues for the coming elections. UNIANDES held focus groups on each of the issues and the results were published in El Tiempo, along with a factual analysis of each of the issues. In 1998, prior to the Colombian presidential elections, the organizations conducted a similar set of activities focussing on education. El Tiempo distributed over 300,000 copies of the 14-page supplement that summarized the findings. The two organizations continued to hold forums on education and to collaborate with a national task force of government and education sector leaders on the development of a Citizen's Agenda for Education in 1999.

Lessons Learned/Best Practices

Some of the lessons from the IADN experience are common to any development project. First, follow-up is important. For example, implementers should build on or, when necessary, create local networks to ensure ongoing support after training has been completed. Follow-up activities may be used both to strengthen the skills and knowledge of participants, as well as to gauge the impact of the training on participants over time. Partners has expended considerable energy on creating a system for evaluating the results of the IADN's efforts, but some of the other members of the Network have been unable to implement the system fully. Second, the choice of implementers is also key. In this case, the six Founding Members (including Partners of the Americas) have years of experience working on civic education, have solid reputations in their own countries, and have demonstrated interest in forging international connections. Third, clarity about the roles to be played by the members is essential to the functioning of the network. These roles should be agreed to when the network is initiated and should be revisited periodically. Fourth, as members will have different organizational capacities, assistance for institution-building for weaker members should be provided, as well as assistance for the network overall.

IADN's experience offers other lessons that may be more specific to civic education. It uses participatory and interactive training techniques for civic education, which have proven to be more effective than passive training methods. The methods and information it provides to its NGO participants can be adapted by the NGOs to serve already existing programs and interests. This flexibility makes it more likely that the NGOs will implement what they are learning. In addition, this allows the NGOs to develop civic education messages that are relevant and culturally appropriate to their own constituencies.

The IADN points to an important lesson about the use of deliberation. As a model for civic education, deliberation has two goals: inform

and educate the public, and assist in decision-making on public policy issues. Forums that are backed by strong organizations or strong networks may be more effective as decision-making tools, as they can readily offer channels for communicating decisions to the broader public and relevant authorities. Forums held for strangers or broader audiences are more likely to be effective as public education tools. Organizations and donors should analyze the context in which they are using this approach to determine which goal is more appropriate and the value of achieving that outcome.

The IADN also presents a potentially powerful model for cooperation and reinforcement among regional organizations. While Partners of the Americas is USAID's grantee and point of contact for the network, the highly collaborative nature of the network has emphasized the roles and responsibilities of all the Founding Members. In a continuation of this collaborative approach, the 1999 evaluation conducted by USAID incorporated representatives of all the Founding Members on the evaluation team.

J. Living in a Finite Environment (LIFE)—A Natural Resources Case Study with Civic Education Elements

Although it falls under the Agency goal dealing with environmental protection, USAID's approach to natural resource management (NRM) has often included activities that might be considered civic education. Many such projects promote community education and community participation as a means to strengthening community control over natural resources which in turn is a means to ensuring sustainable sources of wealth. Often there is no explicit goal of strengthening democratic processes, but there are clear democracy strengthening results. The following brief case study presents an example of an NRM projects that had such effects.

The LIFE Programme was a joint effort between the governments of the United States and Namibia, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Namibian NGOs. It was initiated in 1993 as part

of the USAID regional Natural Resource Management Project under the Regional Center for Southern Africa (RCSA). Originally a four-year project, it was extended to 1999. Total USAID funding is \$15 million. The Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) provided in-kind contributions worth \$4 million and WWF made a matching contribution worth \$3 million. The purpose of the LIFE Programme was: Communities derive increased benefits in an equitable manner by gaining control over and sustainably managing natural resources in target areas.

LIFE aimed to expand and enhance community based natural resource management in Namibia by building the capacity of community based organizations to play a role in NRM, by developing new management systems for the resources, and by creating income generating activities based on the new management approaches. In March 1998, the principal impacts of the LIFE Programme were identified as follows:

- Establishment of a sound policy/legal base for community control and management of game resources
- Very promising institutional development of community-based organizations/conservancy management committees
- Clear indicators of a growing sense of empowerment of local communities over their resources and over their ability to influence government decision-making⁴⁴
- Significant growth in natural resource based enterprises, employment and revenue generation, especially in community-based tourism.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ No specific indicators were cited in the text of the Evaluation; see below for examples of community empowerment arising from the LIFE project.

⁴⁵ Hagen *et al.*, March 1998, p. iii

These impacts suggest that the LIFE project has promoted democratic processes by giving communities new tools to influence government decisions that affect their lives. The LIFE project depended on the passage of new legislation enabling communities to create new institutions--conservancy committees--to protect community rights over wildlife resources. Once this legislation was passed, the LIFE project provided extensive support to communities in implementing the law and creating conservancies. In creating the conservancies, communities became engaged in developing representative and accountable institutions at the local level. As legal entities, conservancies are able to enter into business contracts, enhancing the communities' ability to control its own resources. Additionally, the conservancies enable the communities to enforce more equitable distribution of revenues from community resources, by requiring greater transparency in commercial dealings. The conservancies have provided a new channel for distributing information about issues of public concern. In addition, the communities have gained a new mechanism for addressing both traditional leaders and government institutions. For example, the Nyae Nyae Conservancy Committee lobbied the Government of Namibia, including the regional Governor and the President, to have a group of cattle-herding pastoralists removed from their land.

The success of the LIFE project, and its impact on community participation, seem to be tied to the fresh economic and political opportunities provided by the new legislation. The information and assistance provided by the LIFE project enabled the communities to take advantage of these openings. The "civic education" element of the LIFE project benefited from LIFE's ability to exploit an opening, the linkage between the civic education activities and institutions with legal standing (the community conservancies) and the fact that issues involved directly affected the welfare of the community.

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	Location	Region	Project Number	Document Number	Document Date	Title/Document type	Summary Description
1.	Africa	AFR	698-0541	PD-ABE-901	Jul-91	Project documents for Africa Democracy and Human Rights Fund, Project No. 698-0541	Project to support and strengthen democratic institutions, values, and practices in African countries with a focus on political and civil rights. Total planned funding is \$5.5 million. Project ends September 30, 1994.
2.	Africa	AFR	690-0284	PD-ABQ-600	Jun-98	1997 Annual Report for Afronet	Account of Afronet's work in enhancing the observance of human rights, accountable governments, and development in Africa in 1997.
3.	Angola	AFR	654-0002	PD-ABP-666	Sep-93	Final Report on the Angolan Election Support Program of the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute. (Cooperative Agreement No. AOT-0002-A-00-2070-00)	Project provided pre-election advisory assistance by the International Republic Institute and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs for a wide variety of Angolan political parties and non-governmental organizations.
4.	Burundi	AFR	695-0133	PD-ABK-213	Aug-93	Project documentation for Burundi Democracy and Governance projects 695-0133 and 695-0134	Authorization for the Burundi Democracy and Governance program (both 695-0133 and 695-0134) to sustain the process of democratic governance in Burundi. Project terminates in FY 1994 and total funding is \$2 million.
5.	Ghana	AFR	641-0133	PD-ABK-182	Sep-94	Supporting the Electoral Process (STEP) Project, Ghana, No. 641-0133 Project Paper	Project to provide assistance to the Government of Ghana, through the Electoral Commission, to create an open, credible voter registry and to increase confidence and broaden participation in the electoral process. Project duration is three years and total proposed funding is \$10.15 million. IFES is primary implementer.
6.	Kenya	AFR	615-0267	PD-ABM-030	Jul-95	PVO Co-Financing Project II, Kenya, project number 615-0267	Project follows PVO Co-Financing Project I and is intended to promote community participation and a strong civil society in Kenya. Planned funding for Project II is \$3.5 million and project duration is five years.
7.	Kenya	AFR	615-0266	PD-ABG-718	Jun-94	Project paper for project no. 615-0266, Strengthening Democracy And Governance in Kenya	Project to promote a more tolerant and accommodating democratic culture in Kenya by strengthening the capacity of key democratic institutions. Planned funding is \$7 million and project duration is five years.
8.	Malawi	AFR	612-0243	PD-ABM-611	Sep-95	Democratic and Civic Institution Development (DECIDE), project number 612-0243, Amendment No. 1 with project documentation	Project Amendment intended to expand project activities to include support for political and economic democracy, increase total life of project funding from \$4.5 million to \$14.5 million and extend the Project Assistance Completion Date by two years to September 30, 2000.

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	Location	Region	Project Number	Document Number	Document Date	Title/Document type	Summary Description
9.	Mozambique	AFR	656-0227	PD-ABL-563	Apr-95	Assistance to the Electoral Process in Mozambique. Final Report by United Nations Development Programme	Report on Mozambique electoral assistance program. USAID assistance provided under Mozambique Democratic Initiatives Project (656-0227) and through grant No. 656-0227-G-00-4025-00 to UNDP, totaling \$9,157,500. Project ran from April 1994-1995.
10.	Mozambique	AFR	656-0227	PD-ABE-001	Sep-91	Project documentation for project 656-0227, Mozambique	Project to facilitate Increased Mozambican understanding of strategic options and related implementation requirements for democratic initiatives in the three core areas of multiparty elections, the institutionalization of an independent judiciary, and the decentralization of government. Project ran from September 1991 to December 1993, with total funding of \$4 million.
11.	Namibia	AFR	673-0007	PD-BCK-656	Aug-95	Project documentation for Namibia Democratic Institution Building project, 673-0007	Project to support the National Democratic Institute's efforts to provide for greater access by the citizens of Namibia to a Namibian Parliament that is more effective, transparent, and accountable. Project ends in January 1999 and planned funding totals \$3 million.
12.	Rwanda	AFR	696-0133	PD-ABD-949	Sep-92	Project Paper for Democratic Initiatives and Governance Project for Rwanda, No. 696-0133	Project is funded at \$9 million for five years, and is intended to facilitate and broaden popular participation in shaping the terms of the new social contract and the institutions through which that contract will be carried out.
13.	South Africa	AFR	674-0301	PD-ABL-606	Jul-93	COLD Project, Grant Agreement No. 674-0301-G-SS-3048-00 with Center for Socio-Legal Studies, South Africa	Grant for the development and production of a "Youth for Democracy" training manual to be used in the National Street Law Programme and other human rights education programs. Total planned funding is \$170,000. Grant expires April 30, 1994.
14.	South Africa	AFR	674-0301	PD-ABL-168	Jun-92	COLD Project, Grant Agreement No. 674-0301-G-SS-2016-00 with Community Law Center, South Africa	Grant to develop and implement a regional program designed to empower disadvantaged South Africans through education about civil and human rights. Total planned funding is \$155,000. Grant runs from March 1, 1992 to April 30, 1994.
15.	South Africa	AFR	674-0301	PD-ABH-487	Oct-90	Mid-Term Evaluation Report, Community Outreach and Leadership Development Project "COLD" (674-0301), October 26, 1990	Mid-term evaluation of COLD project intended to strengthen the leadership and institutions of the disadvantaged community so they can better respond to the legitimate needs of their constituencies. Total planned project funding is \$19.3 million. Project started in 1986 and ends in 1995.

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16.	Zambia	AFR	611-0266	PD-ABE-719	Sep-92	Democratic Governance Project Zambia, project number 611-0266, project documentation	Project aims to make public decision making more accessible and effective and to promote accountable government in Zambia. Total planned funding is \$15 million, and project duration is five years.
17.	Zambia	AFR	611-0266	PN-ABU-215	Mar-94	Gender Dimensions of the USAID Zambia Democratic Governance Project, Prepared by Anne Ferguson	Document advising USAID Gambia on how to integrate gender concerns into USAID Zambia's Women in Development Plan.
18.	Zambia	AFR	611-0266	NA	Sep-92	Democratic Governance Project Zambia, number 611-0266, Project Authorization	Project aims to make public decision making more accessible and effective and to promote accountable government in Zambia. Total planned funding is \$15 million, and project duration is five years.
19.	Asia	ANE	499-0002	PD-ABG-648	Apr-93	Asia Democracy Program Evaluation Report, IQC Contract No. OTR-0000-1-00-0035-00	Evaluation of the Asia Democracy Program (ADP) and related activities of USAID missions in Thailand, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. ADP program priorities including strengthening voice, choice, governance, redress, and accountability to promote democracy.
20.	Asia and the Pacific	ANE	493-2750	PD-ABL-601	Aug-93	Grant Agreement No. 493-2750-G-00-3455-00 with The Asia Foundation, Women's Political Participation in the Asia-Pacific Region. Proposal attached.	Project to increase women's political participation at the national, provincial, and local levels, and to build effective national and regional networks for information sharing. Project funding totals \$524,000. Project begins August 31, 1993 and ends September 30, 1994.
21.	Bangladesh	ANE	499-0002	PD-ABL-160	Aug-93	Grant Agreement No. 388-0002-G-00-3040-00 with Asian-American Free Labor Institute for Bangladesh	Grant to assist Asian-American Free Labor Institute to strengthen the formal and informal democratic institutions in Bangladesh that safeguard the rights of Bangladeshi workers. Total planned funding is \$199,000. Grant end date is December 31, 1994.
22.	Bangladesh	ANE	388-0079	PD-ABI-938	Jun-94	Mid-term Evaluation of Institutional Strengthening for Civic Participation Project, Bangladesh, project number 388-0079	Mid-term evaluation of project to strengthen broad public support for representative government by strengthening the legislature and institutions, both public and private, that promote scrutiny of government policies and actions.
23.	Cambodia	ANE	442-0111	PD-ABG-493	Sep-92	Cambodia, Democratic Initiatives Project, Project No. 442-0111	Project to enhance the capacity of Cambodians to develop and implement activities that contribute to peace and to a sustainable democracy. Total planned project funding is \$15 million, and project duration is six years.

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24.	Cambodia	ANE	442-0111	PD-ABI-530	Sep-93	Cambodia, Democratic Initiatives Project (442-0111), Grant Agreement 442-0111-G-00-3428-00 with United Nations Human Rights Trust Fund	Project to provide resources to the United Nations Transitional Authority to Cambodia (UNTAC) for the United Nations Trust Fund for a Human Rights Education Program in Cambodia. Total project funding is \$500,000. Grant duration is one year.
25.	Cambodia	ANE	442-0111	PD-ABJ-141	Jul-94	USAID Democratic Initiatives Project 442-0111, A Formative Evaluation, Final	Evaluation of the Cambodia Democratic Initiatives Project to strengthen pluralism and governance. Project implemented by the Asia Foundation, the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute. Total project funding is \$15 million. Project duration is 1992-1997.
26.	Israel	ANE	298-0201	PD-FAS-111	Sep-85	Cooperative Agreement No. NEB-0201-A-00-5190-00 with American-Israeli-Civil Liberties Coalition for Israel	Grant to support production of videos to educate Israeli Jews and Arabs on democratic principles and the need to protect the liberties, civil and human rights of all peoples. Total planned funding is \$118,000. Grant duration is two years.
27.	Israel	ANE	298-0201	PD-FAQ-835	Sep-85	Grant Agreement with Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, Grant No. NEB-0201-G-SS-5203-00	Grant to support program of Human Rights Education for Arabs and Jews in Israel. Total planned funding is \$120,000. Grant duration is four years.
28.	Mongolia	ANE	438-0002	PD-ABL-637	Jun-93	Grant Agreement No. 438-0002-G-00-3441-00 with The Asia Foundation, Strengthening Representative Government and the Rule of Law in Mongolia. Proposal attached.	Project to continue democratization activities initiated under Grant no. 499-002-G-00-1155. Project components include programs to strengthen representative government, legal reform and education, and popular participation. Project funding totals \$1 million. Project starts June 28, 1993 and ends October 31, 1994.
29.	Pakistan	ANE	499-0002	PD-ABI-726	Sep-93	Grant Agreement No. 499-0002-G-00-3763-00 to National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Pakistan	Project to support National Democratic Institute for Democratic Affairs electoral assistance program for Pakistani provincial and national elections. Project funding totals \$732,000. Project starts July 26, 1993 and ends January 15, 1994.
30.	Sri Lanka	ANE	383-0119	PD-ABI-560	May-94	Project Paper, Citizens' Participation, Sri Lanka, 383-0119	Project to strengthen democratic processes that enhance opportunities for ordinary citizens to address fundamental social, economic, and political development needs. Total planned funding for project is \$7 million. Project duration is six years.
31.	West Bank and Gaza	ANE	294-0007	PD-ABL-798	Aug-94	Project Paper, West Bank and Gaza, Democratic Understanding and Development Project, 294-0007	Project to support activities to establish formal democratic decision making processes at both territorial and municipal levels, establishment of a fair and effective legal/judicial system; and effective governance and strengthened civil society. Total planned funding is \$10 million. Project runs for five years.

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32.	Albania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Lithuania	ENI	180-0021, 110-0007	PD-ABM-770	Apr-96	Evaluation of the Activities of the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute in Albania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Lithuania, USAID Project Nos. 180-0021 and 110-0007	Evaluation of International Republican Institute (IRI) and National Democratic Institute (NDI) activities under projects 180-0021 and 110-0007. Project 180-0021, the Political and Social Process Project for Central and Eastern Europe, was initiated in May 1992 to support the political infrastructure necessary for a pluralistic, multi-party political system, including political parties, independent trade unions, and NGOs. It was later extended to strengthen the capacity of the institutions and political organizations that animate and participate in a democratic political process. Project 110-007, the Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project for the Newly Independent States, was initiated in April 1992 to assist the states of the region in their transition to pluralistic democracies.
33.	Bulgaria	ENI	180-0249.83	PD-ABP-229	Apr-97	Final Report, Audit Evaluation and Project Support Fund-Independent Mid-Term Evaluation of the Democracy Network Program, Project No. 180-0249.83	Evaluation of the Democracy Network Program in Bulgaria, Cooperative Agreement No. DHR-003-A-00-5017-00 between USAID and the Institute for Sustainable Communities. The Democracy Network Program aimed to strengthen civil society through supporting Bulgarian NGOs in four sectors: civil society/democratic practices, economic development, the environment, and social safety nets. Planned project funding totaled \$3.5 million. Planned grant end date was February 27, 1998.
34.	Bulgaria, Lithuania, Poland	ENI	180-0020, 180-0021, 180-0022	PD-ABA-360	Nov-93	Final Report, Program Evaluation of USAID's Investments in Assistance to Democratic Institutions in Bulgaria, Lithuania, Poland, IQC No. AEP-0085-I-00-3003-00	Evaluation of USAID activities to strengthen rule of law and the role of the independent media, and to introduce reforms in the education systems of Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Poland. Funding provided for three years under Rule of Law project 180-0020, Political and Social Process project (180-0021), and Independent Media project (180-0022).
35.	Central and Eastern Europe	ENI	180-0021	PD-ABL-564	Jun-95	Final Report to United States Agency for International Development on Small Grants Program to Strengthen Democratic Practice and Citizen Participation in Central and Eastern Europe, USAID Grant No. EUR-0017-G-00-2041-00	Final report on grant to the United States Democracy Fund for Central and Eastern Europe, a project of The German Marshall Fund of the United States, for a small grants program to strengthen democratic practice and citizen participation in Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Total funding \$161,000. Project duration was three years.

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36.	Central and Eastern Europe	ENI	180-0021	PD-ABF-379	Apr-91	Inter-Agency Agreement between the Agency for International Development and the United States Information Agency (USIA) for reimbursement for implementation of the Education Reform and the Books for Democracy Activities	Agreement to reimburse USIA \$4 million for Education Reform and Books for Democracy Activities. Educational reform activities are intended to contribute to the establishment of a democratic framework for educational reform in Eastern Europe.
37.	Central and Eastern Europe	ENI	110-0007	PD-FDA-881	May-92	Grant Agreement No. CCS-0007-G-00-2018-00 with American Bar Association, Fund for Justice and Education, for Central and Eastern European Law Initiative, Democratic Pluralism Initiatives	Grant is to support Central and Eastern European Law Initiative (CEELI) to assist in developing an overall legal framework as the basis for adherence to the rule of law and development of a market oriented economy.
38.	Former Soviet Union	ENI	110-0007	PD-ABG-670	Jun-92	Grant Agreement No. CCS-0007-A-00-2019-00 with National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, under Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project	Grant to support National Democratic Institute for International Affairs project to strengthen political parties and parliamentary factions, promote local government reform, and develop civic groups in the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union. Total planned funding is \$1.6 million. Grant end date is May 15, 1993.
39.	Hungary	ENI	185-0001	PDC-BE-507	Sep-89	Grant Agreement ANE-0001-G-SS-9045-00 with the National Endowment for Democracy for Hungary	Grant to enable National Endowment for Democracy to provide subgrants to Hungarian and U.S. private sector organizations for the promotion of democracy and the guarantee of human and civil rights in Hungary. Total planned funding is \$255,000. Grant ends on March 31, 1991.
40.	New Independent States	ENI	110-0007	PD-ABD-933	Apr-92	Project Memorandum, New Independent States: Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (110-0007)	Project to assist in the political and social transformation of the states of the former Soviet Union from one-party, centralized, communist regimes to pluralistic democracies. Activities in four broad areas: political and social process, independent media, rule of law, and democratic governance/public administration. Total planned project funding is \$25 million. Project duration is four years.
41.	Poland	ENI	181-0007	PD-FBT-993	Sep-89	Grant Agreement No. ANE-0007-G-SS-9044-00 with the National Endowment for Democracy for Poland	Grant to enable National Endowment for Democracy to provide subgrants to Polish and U.S. private sector organizations for the promotion of efforts in support of democracy and human rights in Poland. Total planned funding is \$330,000. Grant ends March 31, 1991.

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42.	Poland and Hungary	ENI	180-0003	PD-FCE-528	Feb-90	Grant Agreement No. ANE-0003-G-SS-0009-0 to the National Endowment for Democracy for democratic initiatives in Poland and Hungary	Grant to fund a series of sub-grants in support of democratic development and human rights with Polish and Hungarian organizations and the Polish American Congress Charitable Foundation, Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe, and Rutgers University. Total planned funding is \$3,433,100. Grant period is February 1, 1990 to June 30, 1991.
43.	Poland, the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic, and Hungary	ENI	180-0003	PD-ABE-122	Feb-92	An Evaluation of the United States Agency for International Development's Democratic Pluralism Initiative in Poland, the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic, and Hungary	Evaluation of twenty-three projects funded in FY 1990 by USAID to promote democracy in Poland, the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic, and Hungary. Total project funding was \$5,572,000.
44.	Russian Federation	ENI	110-0007	PD-ABL-537	Sep-93	Contract with ARD/Checchi for Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project, Rule of Law Program, Russian Federation	Project to support the creation of stable legal and political environments that facilitate the transition to democratic, market-based societies in the NIS region. Total planned funding is \$4 million. Project end date is September 30, 1994.
45.	Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan,	ENI	110-0007	PD-ABG-835	Sep-92	Grant Agreement No. CCS-0007-G-00-2075-00 with The Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) for activities under the Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project	Grant is to assist Free Trade Union Institute to establish an Institute for Research and Education in Moscow and a Center for Democracy, Labor, and Human Rights in Kazakhstan. Total planned funding is \$791,000. Grant end date is March 28, 1994.
46.	Russian Federation, Ukraine, Central Asia, Caucasus	ENI	110-0007	PD-ABK-078	NA	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Two-Year Report, Cooperative Agreement #CCS-0007-A-00-2019, Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project	Report on National Democratic Institute for International Affairs grant to support National Democratic Institute for International Affairs project to strengthen political parties and parliamentary factions, promote local government reform, and develop civic groups in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Central Asia, and the Caucasus.
47.	Slavic Republics	ENI	110-0007	PD-ABL-538	Sep-93	Contract with ARD/Checchi for Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project, Rule of Law Program, Slavic Republics	Project to support the creation of stable legal and political environments that facilitate the transition to democratic, market-based societies in the NIS region. Total planned funding is \$2,235,000. Project end date is August 31, 1994.
48.	Bolivia	LAC	511-0634	PD-ABM-447	NA	Bolivia Project Paper, Democratic Development and Citizen Participation, Project No. 511-0634	Project to strengthen citizen participation in municipal and national government, as well as the ability of municipal governments, national and departmental electoral institutions, and the National Congress to respond effectively to the demands resulting from strengthened participation. Total planned project funding is \$14 million. Project duration is seven years.

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49.	Bolivia	LAC	511-0634	PD-ABL-083	Jan-95	USAID Grant No. 511-0634, Project Grant Agreement between the Republic of Bolivia and the Government of the United States of America, Democratic Development and Citizen Participation Project	Project to strengthen citizen participation in municipal and national government, as well as the ability of municipal governments, national and departmental electoral institutions, and the National Congress to respond effectively to the demands resulting from strengthened participation. Total planned project funding is \$14 million. Project duration is seven years.
50.	Bolivia	LAC	511-0610	PD-ABB-804	Aug-88	Bolivia Project Paper, Democratic Institutions Project, Project No. 511-0610	Project to improve the functioning of the electoral system and broaden participation in the electoral process; improve the administration and bill drafting functions of the Congress; and, explore the feasibility of establishing a non-governmental, non-partisan, non-profit organization to promote democracy in Bolivia. Total planned project funding \$450,000. Project duration is 16 months.
51.	Bolivia	LAC	511-0610	PD-AAZ-106	Sep-88	Grant Agreement between the Republic of Bolivia and the United States of America for Democratic Institutions Project (511-0610)	Project to improve the functioning of the electoral system and broaden participation in the electoral process; improve the administration and bill drafting functions of the Congress; and, explore the feasibility of establishing a non-governmental, non-partisan, non-profit organization to promote democracy in Bolivia. Total planned project funding \$450,000. Project duration is 16 months.
52.	Bolivia	LAC	511-0610	PD-ABK-251	Dec-94	Final Report, Evaluation of Democratic Institutions Project (511-0610)	Evaluation of the Democratic Institutions Project (511-0610) to strengthen the operation of the electoral system and the work of the legislative branch. Project implemented by Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL) of the Interamerican Institute of Human Rights (IIDH) and the Office of International Programs of the State University of New York. Project funding to date totaled \$3 million (with an additional \$400,000 planned). Project was initiated in August 1998 and planned termination was in 1995.
53.	Bolivia, Ecuador, and Panama	LAC	598-0642	PD-ABL-407	NA	Public Legal Education for Latin America Supporting Democracy and Improving the Administration of Justice, A Cooperative Agreement between the Agency for International Development and the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law, Grant No. LAG-0642-A-00-2034-00, Final Report	Final report on grant to National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL) to establish and institutionalize public legal education programs in Latin America. Project duration was two years.

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	Location	Region	Project Number	Document Number	Document Date	Title/Document type	Summary Description
54.	Central America	LAC	598-0793	PD-ABJ-744	Jul-94	Partners of the Americas Democratic Initiatives Project in Central America, project numbers 598-0793 and 598-0813, Final Report	Final Report on the 18 month-long Democratic Initiatives Project that trained leaders, provided technical assistance, and offered small grants to civic organizations and Partners of the Americas chapters. Total funding was \$171,000.
55.	Central America	LAC	597-0003	PD-ABD-169	Jul-85	Strengthening Democratic Processes in Central America through the Partners of the Americas Program, Proposal submitted to USAID	Proposal to strengthen democratic concepts and processes in Central America and Panama through a program of professional exchange, regional seminars, program workshops, and training activities guided by Central American civic leaders and using the Partners of the Americas network. Total funding requested is \$2,367,000. Planned project duration is three years.
56.	Central America	LAC	597-0003	PD-ABC-253	Feb-87	An Evaluation of the Program of Education for Participation (PEP), A Report submitted to OEF International and the United States Agency for International Development by Robert Armove	Mid-term evaluation of OEF project in Central America to develop functional knowledge and skills to enable participants, working collectively, to understand and use democratic processes effectively. Total funding is \$2,683,000. Project duration is four years.
57.	Central America	LAC	597-0003	PD-ABA-059	Sep-89	End of Project Evaluation of Partners of the Americas, Grant No. LAC-0003-G-SS-5125-00, Central America Regional Strengthening Democracy	Evaluation of Partners of the Americas grant to open a large North-South, two-way flow of civic and community leader exchange in order to strengthen democratic processes in Central America and Panama. Total funding is \$2,333,000. Project duration is four years.
58.	Chile	LAC	598-0796	PD-FCS-191	Apr-91	Cooperative Agreement 513-0796-00-A-1025-00 with Corporacion Participa, Chile	Cooperative Agreement to support non-partisan voter education in Chile. Total planned funding is \$400,000. Agreement ends on November 30, 1991.
59.	Chile	LAC	598-0642.20	PD-FCT-048	Aug-91	Cooperative Agreement No. 513-0642-A-00-1064-00 with Corporacion de Promocion Universitaria	Cooperative Agreement with Corporacion de Promocion Universitaria to support activities in judicial training, court administration, and legal aid to the low income population, particularly women, in Chile. Funding totals \$500,000. Agreement terminates on September 30, 1992.
60.	Chile	LAC	513-0796	PD-FCS-191	Apr-91	Cooperative Agreement No. 513-0796-A-00-1025-00 with Corporacion Participa	Project to support Corporacion Participa's voter education activities. Project funding is \$400,000. Grant end date is November 30, 1991.
61.	Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala	LAC	597-0003	PD-ABA-188	Aug-89	An Evaluation of the Program of Education for Participation (PEP), Grant No. LAC-0003-A-00-5103-00 to OEF International	Final evaluation of OEF project in Central America to develop functional knowledge and skills to enable participants, working collectively, to understand and use democratic processes effectively. Total funding is \$2,683,000. Project duration is four years.

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	Location	Region	Project Number	Document Number	Document Date	Title/Document type	Summary Description
62.	Dominican Republic	LAC	517-0269	PD-ABG-723	Jun-93	A.I.D. Project No. 517-0269, Project Grant Agreement between the Government of the Dominican Republic and the United States of America, the Electoral Reform Project	Project to increase the effectiveness and integrity of the Dominican electoral process by strengthening the Central Electoral Board's institutional structure and management, and by establishing an accurate and efficient, fraud-resistant identification/electoral registration system. Total planned funding is \$1,697,000 and grant ends March 31, 1995.
63.	Dominican Republic	LAC	517-0269	PD-ABG-726	Jun-93	A.I.D. Project No. 517-0269, the Electoral Reform Project, between the Government of the Dominican Republic and the United State of America, Project Authorization and Project Data Sheet	Project to increase the effectiveness and integrity of the Dominican electoral process by strengthening the Central Electoral Board's institutional structure and management, and establishing an accurate and efficient, fraud-resistant identification/electoral registration system. Total planned funding is \$1,697,000 and grant ends March 31, 1995.
64.	Dominican Republic	LAC	517-0265	PD-ABE-622	Mar-92	Dominican Republic Project Paper, Democratic Initiatives, Project No. 517-0265	Project to strengthen the democratic process in the Dominican Republic by: promoting a more dynamic democratic culture, improving wide citizen participation in decision-making, improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the political process, and enhancing governmental effectiveness, accountability, and responsiveness. Project implemented by Pontificia Universidad Catolica Madre y Maestra (PUCMM). Total planned project funding is \$9 million. Project duration is ten years.
65.	Dominican Republic	LAC	517-0265	PD-ABD-963	Mar-92	Cooperative Agreement No. 517-0265-A-00-2080-00 with Pontificia Universidad Catolica Madre y Maestra, Democratic Initiatives Project	Project to strengthen the democratic process in the Dominican Republic by: promoting a more dynamic democratic culture, improving wide citizen participation in decision-making, improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the political process, and enhancing governmental effectiveness, accountability, and responsiveness. Project implemented by Pontificia Universidad Catolica Madre y Maestra (PUCMM). Total planned project funding is \$9 million. Project duration is ten years.
66.	Ecuador	LAC	518-0109	PD-FCT-578	Sep-91	ELECT Project, Cooperative Agreement with Centro de Asesoria y Promocion Electoral of the Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, Ecuador, project number 518-0109	Project to assist the electoral system in Ecuador through a civic education campaign, training of poll workers, and organization of international election observers. Total project funding is \$440,000. Project starts September 30, 1991 and ends March 31, 1992.

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	Location	Region	Project Number	Document Number	Document Date	Title/Document type	Summary Description
67.	El Salvador	LAC	519-0794	PD-ABD-458	Sep-91	Cooperative Agreement No. 519-0794-A-00-1197-00 with Freedom House	Agreement with Freedom House to survey and evaluate Salvadoran organizations that support participation in Salvadoran elections. Total grant funding is \$120,000 and grant end date is January 31, 1992.
68.	El Salvador	LAC	519-0794	PD-ABD-193	Jan-91	El Salvador Project Paper, El Salvador Elections Assistance, Project No. 519-0794	Project to provide elections assistance to help assure free and fair elections in El Salvador. Project implemented by Freedom House, Center for Democracy, Southwest Voter Research Institute, Organization of American States, National Republican Institute, and National Democratic Institute. Total planned project funding is \$3.4 million. Project will last for six months.
69.	El Salvador	LAC	519-0391	PD-ABF-492	Sep-92	El Salvador Project Paper, Democratic and Electoral Processes, Project No. 519-0391	Project to strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic and electoral processes, especially through increased participation of women, young adults, and rural people. Total planned funding is \$4 million. Project duration is three years.
70.	El Salvador	LAC	519-0391	PD-ABE-844	Sep-92	Grant Agreement for Democratic and Electoral Processes Project between the Republic of El Salvador and the United States of America, Agency for International Development USAID Project No. 519-0391	Project to strengthen the integrity and inclusiveness of the Salvadoran democratic and electoral processes, especially through increased participation of women, young adults, and rural people. Total planned funding is \$4 million. Project duration is three years.
71.	El Salvador	LAC	519-0293	PDK-AA-752	Aug-83	Grant Agreement, Salvadoran Elections, between The Republic of El Salvador and the United States of America, A.I.D. Project No. 519-0293	Project to provide technical and financial assistance to the Central Electoral Council to assist in the implementation of a fair and honest electoral process for presidential and legislative elections. Total planned funding is \$3.4 million. Grant runs for two years.
72.	El Salvador	LAC	519-0293	PDK-AA-750	Aug-83	El Salvador, Project Paper, El Salvador Elections Project, Project No. 519-0293	Project to provide technical and financial assistance to the Central Electoral Council to assist in the implementation of a fair and honest electoral process for presidential and legislative elections. Total planned funding is \$3.4 million. Grant runs for two years.
73.	Guatemala	LAC	520-0398	PD-ABD-691	Aug-91	Guatemala Project Paper, Democratic Institutions, Project No. 520-0398	Project to institutionalize specific democratic processes in Guatemala by strengthening key democratic institutions and supporting programs oriented to improving public knowledge and attitudes about human rights and democratic practices. Total planned funding is \$6 million and grant end date is September 30, 1995.

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74.	Guatemala	LAC	520-0398-020	PD-ABB-879	Sep-90	Grant Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Guatemala, Democratic Institutions Project No. 520-0398	Agreement to provide funds to the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman to strengthen its role as guardian of universal human rights in accordance with a Constitutional mandate and Decrees approved by the Congress. Grant amount is \$341,000 and grant termination date is September 30, 1994.
75.	Guyana	LAC	504-0105	PD-ABP-376	Sep-95	Guyana Project Paper, Guyana Strengthening Democracy, Project No. 504-0105	Project to promote a pluralistic society and a responsive, open government, through activities with Parliament, regional and local government, and civil society. Total planned project funding is \$3 million. Project duration is four years.
76.	Haiti	LAC	521-0236	PD-ABD-247	May-91	Haiti Democracy Enhancement Project 521-0236, project documentation	Project will contribute to the development of a constitutional, stable, open democratic society in Haiti by working with constitutional structures and independent organizations that represent key interest groups in Haiti. Total planned funding is \$11 million and project duration is four years.
77.	Haiti	LAC	521-0236	PD-ABL-859	NA	Grant Agreement between the Government of Haiti and the Government of the United States of America for the Democracy Enhancement Project (No. 521-0236)	Project to promote democratic institutional development along with broadening and deepening the participation of civil society. Total planned funding is \$17,900,000 and grant ends May 31, 1999.
78.	Haiti	LAC	521-0209	PD-AAW-482	Mar-87	Project Documentation for Strengthening Civic Participation Project No. 521-0209 in Haiti	Grant to Inter-America Institute of Human rights for a program by the Center for Electoral Promotion and Assistance (CAPEL) to strengthen the electoral process by promoting citizen participation and by assisting the Government of Haiti to carry out elections.
79.	Honduras	LAC	522-0340	PD-ABB-686	Jun-90	A.I.D. Project No. 522-0340, Project Agreement between the Republic of Honduras and the United States of America for Municipal Development Project	Grant to increase citizen participation in decisions related to the allocation of land, public services, and facilities by the municipal government, and to improve effectiveness in municipal government in responding to citizen needs. Initial USAID funding is \$1 million. Grant ends June 30, 1997.
80.	Honduras	LAC	522-0296	PD-AAZ-346	Apr-89	Grant Agreement with American Institute for Free Labor Development for Honduras, Project No. 522-0296	Grant to improve the capability of Honduran democratic trade unions to develop local leadership and increase the knowledge and participation of trade union members in the nation's political process. Total planned funding is \$198,000. Grant end date is March 31, 1990.

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81.	Latin America and the Caribbean	LAC	598-0813	PD-ABL-404	Sep-93	Grant No. LAG-0813-G-00-3032-00 with Partners of the Americas, Democratic Initiatives for Latin American and the Caribbean	Grant to promote democratic skills and increase citizen participation in civic organizations through education in democracy and civic arts and strengthening civic organizations. Total planned funding is \$1,251,000. Grant ends September 30, 1995.
82.	Latin America and the Caribbean	LAC	598-0813	PD-ABG-628	May-93	LAC Regional, Project Paper, Partners/Conciencia Civic Education, Project Number 598-0813	Grant to provide citizens in the LAC region with knowledge and skills to promote and sustain democratic participation; to strengthen the ability of civic organizations to provide civic education, motivate citizen participation in society, and to form national and international networks; and, to increase the level of women's participation in public life and leadership positions.
83.	Latin America and the Caribbean	LAC	598-0642; 597-0002	PD-AAY-757	Feb-89	Latin America and the Caribbean Region, Project Paper, Regional Administration of Justice, Amendment No. 2	Amendment to Regional Administration of Justice Project to add additional funding of \$13.6 million and to extend the project to December 31, 1992. Additional funds are to enable Instituto Latinoamericano de Naciones Unidas para la Prevencion del Delito y el Tratamiento del Delincuente (ILANUD) to consolidate its ability to serve regional justice sector institutions, with a special sub-project for the Honduran judiciary.
84.	Latin America and the Caribbean	LAC	598-0591	PD-ABI-491	Jan-93	LAC Regional, Project Paper, Human Rights Initiatives (National Democratic Institute), Project Number: 598-0591	Amendment to Human Rights Initiatives Project 598-0591 to provide funding to the National Democratic Institute to promote free elections and democratic values and to improve the ability of newly elected officials to govern effectively. Total planned funding is \$1.3 million. Project duration is three years.
85.	Latin America and the Caribbean	LAC	598-0591	PD-ABJ-245	Jun-94	LA Regional, Project Paper, Human Rights Initiatives-Carter Center, Project Number: 598-0591	Grant to assist the Carter Center to develop the capacity to mediate electoral problems and contribute to the expansion and consolidation of democracy in the Americas. Total planned project funding is \$475,000. Project duration is two years.
86.	Latin America and the Caribbean	LAC	598-0591	PDF-CU-481	Jun-89	Grant Agreement No. LAC-0591-G-SS-9026-00 with Inter-American Institute of Human Rights for Chile	Grant to support non-partisan civic education in Chile to prepare voters for presidential and legislative elections in 1989, and to create a non-profit Chilean civic education organization. Total planned project funding is \$470,000. Grant end date is June 30, 1990.
87.	Latin America and the Caribbean	LAC	598-0000	PD-ABL-953	Oct-95	Evaluation of Partners of the Americas, Final Report, Cooperative Agreement No. LAC-0793-A-00-1035-00	Evaluation of Partners of the Americas efforts to strengthen its network of partnership organizations, improve its ability to achieve its objectives, and further promote the development of Indigenous volunteer organizations in the LAC region under Cooperative Agreement No. LAC-0793-A-00-1035-00. Agreement ran from May 1991 to December 1995.

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88.	Nicaragua	LAC	936-5468	PD-ABN-983	May-97	Evaluation of USAID's Support for the 1996 Nicaraguan elections through a cooperative agreement with the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights/Center for Election Assistance and Promotion. Final Report	Report on evaluation of \$3.5 million cooperative agreement (1995-1996) with Inter-American Institute of Human Rights/Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (IIDH/CAPEL) to provide assistance to the Consejo Supremo Electoral to administer the 1996 Nicaraguan election.
89.	Nicaragua	LAC	524-0316	PD-ABM-176	Aug-95	Evaluation of Strengthening Democratic Institutions (SDI) USAID/Nicaragua, April 1995	Mid-term evaluation of project designed to promote a functioning democratic system of government in Nicaragua which will accommodate change through peaceful means, allow citizens to participate in the decisions that affect their lives, and protect basic rights and freedoms associated with economic progress. The project is being implemented by the National Endowment for Democracy, American Institute for Free Labor Development, National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute, Center for Democracy, Consortium for Legislative Development, America's Development Foundation, Florida International University, United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.
90.	Nicaragua	LAC	NA	XD-ABQ-661-A	Apr-98	Final Report, Evaluation of Civil Society organizations in Nicaragua, Contract no. CLIN 008:AEP 5468-I-00-6013-00	Evaluation of five civil society organizations supported by USAID: Centro de Educacion para la Democracia, Grupo Fundemos, Centro Nicaraguense de Estudios Laborales, Centro de Estudios Estrategicos de Nicaragua, and Mujeres Nicaraguense Conciencia
91.	Panama	LAC	525-0317	PD-ABE-821	Sep-92	Grant Agreement Between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America for the Improved Electoral Administration Project, Grant No. 525-0317	Project to improve the capacity of the Government and the people of Panama to hold free, fair, and open elections. Total planned project funding is \$1,256,000 and grant ending date is September 30, 1994.
92.	Paraguay	LAC	598-0591	PD-FCU-513	May-89	Grant Agreement No. LAC-0591-G-SS-9026-00 with National Endowment for Democracy for Paraguay	Grant to the National Endowment for Democracy to provide subgrants to Paraguayan civic groups for support for the May 1989 Presidential and Congressional elections. Total planned funding is \$500,000. Grant ends July 15, 1990.
93.	Peru	LAC	527-0376	PD-ABK-954	Sep-94	Grant Agreement No. 527-0376-G-00-4367-00 with International Republican Institute, Peru	Grant to provide support for a multifaceted program to address Peru's democratic and political education effort. Total funding is \$367,000. Grant ends June 30, 1995.

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94.	Peru	LAC	527-0356	PD-ABJ-669	Sep-94	Peru, Project Paper, Participatory Democracy	Project to empower Peru's citizenry to express its needs and desires and to enable its government to effectively respond to them. Total planned funding is \$10 million and project duration is five years.
95.	Global	All	930-0023	PD-ABF-276	Aug-91	Cooperative Agreement No. PDC-0023-A-00-1089-00 with International Foundation for Electoral Systems	Cooperative Agreement to support International Foundation for Electoral Systems in providing technical electoral assistance and other related assistance to emerging democracies and other AID assisted countries, from 1991-1996.
96.	Global	All	698-0541	PN-ABM-792	NA	Democracy and Human Rights Fund Manual, Draft	Draft of manual to provide guidance to field missions as to the objectives of the Democracy and Human Rights Fund and procedures and regulations to be followed.
97.	Global	All	499-0002	PN-ABP-078	Dec-92	How to Organize a Program in Civic Education	International Foundation for Electoral Assistance guide to developing civic education programming.

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